ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

NATIVE RESOURCE USE STUDY

ROSS BAY JUNCTION - CHURCHILL FALLS TOTE ROAD

TRANSPORTATION
GOVERNMENT OF NEWFOUNDLAND & LABRADOR

GOVERNMENT OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

Office of the Minister
Telephone 737-3641

ST. JOHN'S

File No. PR/71

MAR 10 1986

Honourable John Butt, M.H.A.
Minister,
Department of Environment
Elizabeth Towers
100 Elizabeth Avenue
St. John's, NF
A1C 5T7

Dear Colleague:

RE: Native Resource Use Component Report - Ross Bay Junction to Churchill Falls Tote Road Environmental Assessment

In accordance with Section 9 (10) of the Environmental Assessment Regulations, 1984, I am enclosing twenty-five (25) copies of the Native Resource Use Component Report for the Ross Bay Junction to Churchill Falls Tote Road Environmental Assessment. This report was prepared by Hardy Associates (1978) Limited.

The views and recommendations presented herein are those of the consultant and do not necessarily reflect the policies and procedures of the Department of Transportation.

The information contained in this report relates specifically to the Native Resource Use Component. There are six (6) component studies as well as an Environmental Impact Statement. Any views or comments which are expressed about this report should consider the other component studies and moreover, the Environmental Impact Statement which, in addressing the overall environmental impacts of the proposed project as documented in the component studies, will provide the clear statement of the policies and procedures of the Department of Transportation with respect to this project.

(......./2)

My department looks forward to your review and examination of this report.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me or my staff.

Sincerely,

RON DAWE
MINISTER OF TRANSPORTATION

/dm
Enclosures

NECL
NEWFOUNDLAND ENVIRONMENTAL
CONSULTANTS LIMITED

March 27, 1986

Mr. C. Roger Pottle
Planning and Research Division
Department of Transportation
Government of Newfoundland and Labrador
Atlantic Place
215 Water Street
St. John's, Newfoundland
A1C 5T7

Dear Mr. Pottle:

Herewith please find our final component report, "Native Resource Use" of the Ross Bay Junction to Churchill Falls Tote Road Environmental Impact Study. Following you and your colleagues' most helpful reviews and discussions, we have adjusted the report as necessary to conform with your suggestions.

It has been a privilege to work for the Department of Transportation. We thank you for the opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. C.M. Hawkins

36 PIPPY PLACE, ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND A1B 3X4 (709) 722-4777

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

ROSS BAY JUNCTION - CHURCHILL FALLS TOTE ROAD

NATIVE RESOURCE USE STUDY

by

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March 1986

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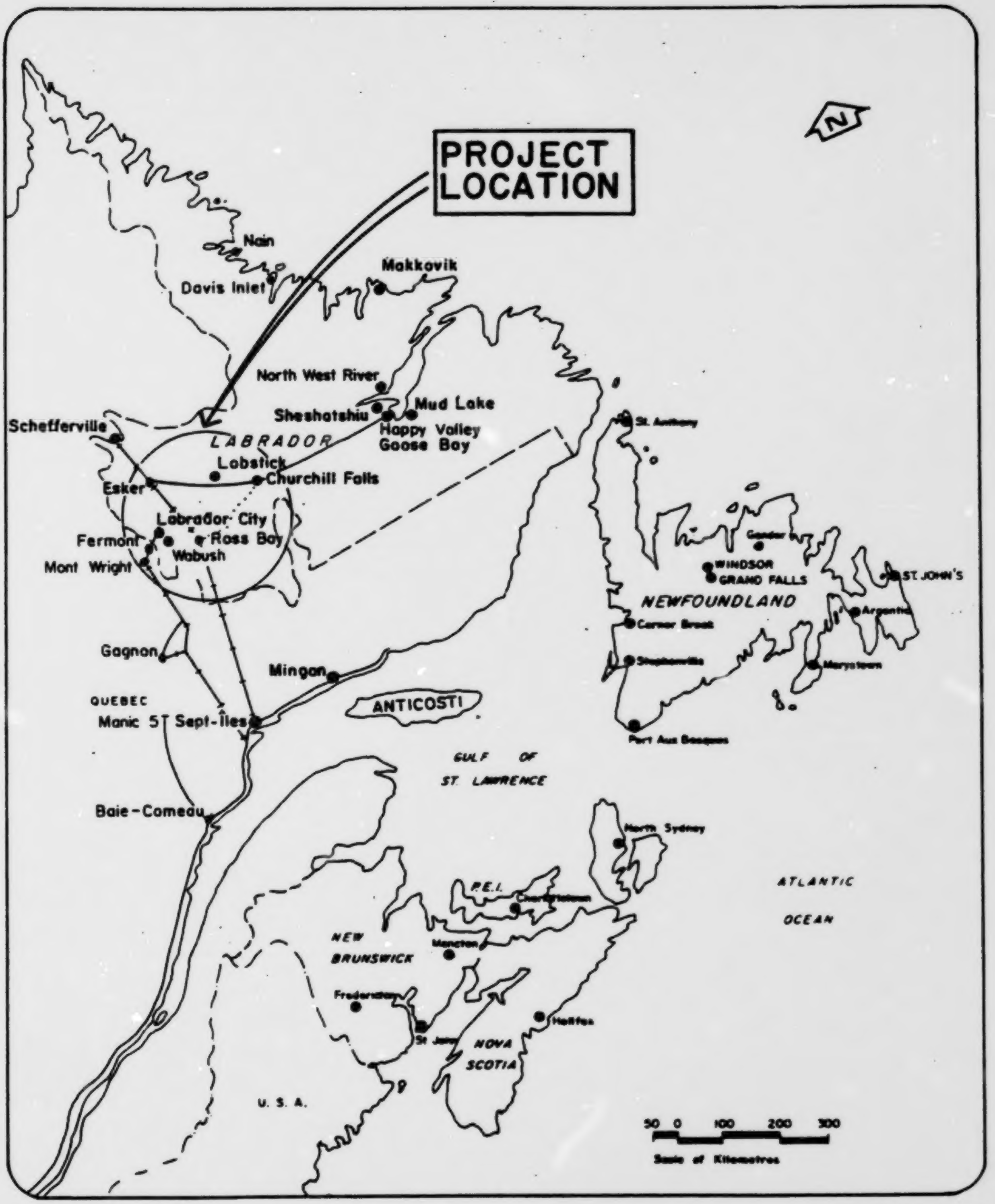

PROJECT LOCATION
N
Nain
Davis Inlet
Makkovik
North West River
Sheshatshiu
Mud Lake
Happy Valley Goose Bay
Schefferville
LABRADOR
Lobstick
Churchill Falls
Esker
Labrador City
Ross Bay
Fermont
Wabush
Mont Wright
Gagnon
Mingan
QUEBEC
Manic 5
Sept-Îles
ANTICOSTI
Baie-Comeau
St. Anthony
Gander
WINDSOR
GRAND FALLS
ST. JOHN'S
NEWFOUNDLAND
Corner Brook
Argentia
Stephenville
Marystown
Port Aux Basques
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
North Sydney
P.E.I.
Charlottetown
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NEW BRUNSWICK
Moncton
Fredericton
St John
Halifax
NOVA SCOTIA
U. S. A.
50 0 100 200 300
Scale of Kilometres

ROSS BAY JUNCTION – CHURCHILL FALLS TOTE ROAD

TRANSPORTATION

Chapter 1.

Introduction

1.1 OBJECTIVES

The Native Resources Use Study is a Component Study of the Environmental Impact Assessment of the proposed Ross Bay Junction to Churchill Falls Tote Road. The overall purpose of the study is to describe the significance of the resource harvest and other land use patterns carried out by Native Innu people in the region of the two alternative routes, and to indicate how these patterns might be affected by the proposed road development.

To achieve this purpose, the study has established for itself a number of specific objectives.

- To measure the amount of the present resource harvest of the Innu who live in the region of, and would be affected by, the proposed development.

- To document the pattern of land use of the region by the Innu.

- To identify and evaluate any increases or decreases in the use of the region by the Innu as a result of the building of the road, in either the southern or the northern route.

- To describe the role in Innu society played by their land use patterns in the region, and how this role might be affected by the proposed road.

- To include as part of the research project interviews with individual Innu who use the region in question, as well as with officials of the various organizations who represent them, both in Labrador and in those Quebec communities where these Innu reside, including Sheshatshiu, Sept-Iles/Maliotenam, Mingan and Schefferville.

The objectives of the study include taking into account not only the economic significance of the region to the Native Innu people, but also the cultural relevance to the Innu of their land use patterns in the region. The aim is also to see how the patterns of Innu land use might be affected by the building of the proposed road. Finally, proposals will be made of those mitigative measures that may be required, as well as a strategy for monitoring the actual impact, if the road were to be built.

1.2 KEY FACTORS

1.2.1 Quantifiable Factors

In this study, a number of key factors, also known as indicators, will be used. As far as possible, these factors will be expressed using quantifiable units, as follows:

- Numbers of Innu people who use the study area at the present time.
  - by community of residence (e.g. Sept-Iles/Maliotenam, Schefferville, Mingan or Sheshatshiu).
  - by type of social group they are in when using the study region (e.g. individual, single family, multi-family group, all-male group).

- Numbers of Innu people who will be using the study region in the future.

* Annual harvest taken from the region by Innu users.
  - by number of each animal species.
  - by weight in kilograms, for game meat.
  - by cash value, for furs.
  - by cash equivalent replacement value, for game meat.

* The future annual harvest in the region by Innu users (using the same units given in the previous paragraph).

* The periods of the year when Innu people use the region.

* The periods in the future when the Innu will use the region.

In addition to the above factors, material will also be taken into account from the other component studies of this Environmental Impact Study, particularly from the Socio-economic, Tourism and Recreation and Wildlife component studies, to indicate the numbers of non-Innu users of the region, and the numbers of the various animal species taken by them, both now and in the future.

1.2.2 Non-quantifiable Factors

Other key factors will, however, not be as easy to quantify. For example, reference will be made to the range of opinions, and deeply-felt emotions, held by the Innu people about the probable impact of the road, as revealed both in our own research, and in the Public Participation component study. Moreover, some of these opinions include reference to the legal and aboriginal rights of the Innu in the region, so that some commentary will be made on such rights, as these can be objectively evaluated by reference to comparable cases. Finally, although it is difficult to quantify the cultural value of the region, the way of life and the traditions which the use of this area by the Innu entails, some account will need to be taken of these kinds of factors.

Chapter 2

Methods and Approach

2.1 STUDY DESIGN

2.1.1 Relationship to Socio-economic Component Study

The Native Resource Use Study is, in essence, a type of socio-economic impact research. Because of this, the first task in outlining the design of this study is to specify those features that distinguish it from a regular socio-economic study, since such a study is another part of this Environmental Impact Assessment.

2.1.2 The Labrador Innu

This project is concerned with the special significance that the region of the proposed road has for the hunting and trapping economy of native Innu people, and with the impact the proposed road will have on their way of life. The Innu are a distinct group within Labrador society, with a non-Western culture and language. Their homeland has been the interior of Quebec-Labrador for thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans, the latter having begun to use the study area to any significant extent only in the past few decades. Because of these circumstances, theinterests that the Innu have in the region of the road have been singled out for a separate component of study. For details of the impact the road may have on any of the other interests of the Innu, that is, apart from their hunting and trapping activities, and their traditional culture, the reader is referred to the other component studies.

Some specific facts about the Innu and their culture have important implications for the design of this study, and the following three in particular should be noted.

(a) Subsistence Mode of Production

Since the main economic use which the Innu make of the resources of the study region (a region which is defined in section 2.3.1) is directly for their own subsistence (e.g. game meat for food, berries for food, animal skins and wood for tools, and wood for dwellings and fuel), while they make only a secondary use of resources for marketable products (e.g. fur for sale and animal skins and wood for handicrafts), it would be inappropriate to evaluate the region's significance for them solely in conventional economic terms, such as is expressed by a salary, or by the cash value of some form of marketable production. This consideration has implications for the methodology to be used in measuring the value of production that the Innu obtain from the study region.

(b) Non-Western Value System

Any account of the use of the area for hunting and trapping by the Innu must appreciate that these uses of the region's natural resources are mediated through their own cultural practices, perceptions and values. Hunting, in particular, has important symbolic, religious and emotional implications in Innu culture. For this reason the research will also need to outline briefly those aspects of Innu culture and values relevant to their patterns of use of the study region.

(c) Special Legal Considerations

Like other Native people, the Innu enjoy special rights under Canadian law. The Innu are an aboriginal people, and as such possess rights that flow from their 'aboriginal title' to their traditional homelands. The Innu have never surrendered any of the rights recognized in Canadian law as applying to Native people (see Appendix 1). The federal government, through the Office of Native Claims, has accepted as valid the formal land claims of the various Innu organizations, and has begun negotiations with the Quebec-based groups. The Innu have a strong conception of the study region as part of their land, and a growing consciousness of themselves as a distinct political group.

A minimal interpretation of unceded 'aboriginal title' would be that it includes the right of a group to occupy and use their ancestral lands. While in the past the existence of these Innu rights did not prevent other developments in Western Labrador from going ahead, including the iron ore mines, and the Churchill Falls and Twin Falls hydro-electric developments, these rights, and the moral claims of the group implied by them, do have important implications for the initial attitude that ordinary Innu take towards the proposal to build the road, as well as for the political, and even legal actions which their representatives take in relation to industrial developments (see e.g. NMIA 1977, and Grant 1981). From the perspective of this study, the Innu attitude to the road proposal has important implications for the research design.

The above three factors together mean that special kinds of data-gathering methodologies have been employed in this study, ones more usually associated with the discipline of anthropology than with sociology and economics, the disciplines whose methods are often associated with socio-economic impact studies.

2.1.3 Study Elements

The research design for this study includes the following parts:

* A survey of the literature (used in planning the research) on northern socio-economic assessment, northern Native harvesting, and the Innu of Labrador.

* The preparation of a detailed field research plan, with a schedule of fieldwork, preparation of interview forms, maps to be used, etc.

* The carrying out of field interviews in each of the Innu communities.

* The consultation of comparable studies of resource harvesting activities by northern native people in ecologically similar regions.

* The calculation of the numbers of users and the amounts of harvest taken by them from the study region.

* A survey of the literature for comparable studies of the impact of northern roads on groups of Native hunters and trappers.

* The calculation of the changes that the road, and those developments that will be associated with it or will follow from it, are likely to have on the Innu use of the study region, if the road is built.

* The planning of measures that will mitigate against the effects of the most significant of the road's negative impacts.

* The planning of a technique for monitoring the actual impacts of the road, and the effectiveness of the mitigations.

2.2 WORK PROGRAM

The research team for this study includes the project manager for Hardy Associates, Mr. Steve Fudge; the senior project coordinator, Dr. Adrian Tanner; the principal field researcher, Mr. Peter Armitage; and a full-time Native field research assistant, Mr. Alexander Andrew. Work on the project began in late January 1985.

2.2.1 Planning

During January a preliminary literature search to assist in the research design was completed. Field methods were planned, including the preparation of interview schedules and questions. This was followed by a Scoping and Integration workshop, in which the coordination between the component studies was organized.

In early February, information letters about the Native Resource Component Study were sent to band councils of Sheshatshiu, Sept-Iles/Maliotenam and Schefferville, as well as to the Naskapi-Montagnais Innu Association and the Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais, asking permission to conduct research in these communities. The letters to organizations or individuals in Quebec were first translated into French. Other letters were sent to the Fur Division of the Government of Quebec, the Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais, the Sept-Iles/Maliotenam band council and the Quebec Toponymy Commission, asking for access to information they have on file. A copy of the information letter was sent to the Mingan band council in early March.

2.2.2 Fieldwork

Armitage travelled to Sheshatshiu on February 15. Armitage and Andrew finished interviewing in Sheshatshiu in February, and moved to Sept-Iles/Maliotenam, Mingan and Schefferville, where the bulk of the interviewing work was planned. Although they spent all of March in these three communities, they failed to get permission from any of the three band councils or from the regional Status Indian association, the Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais (CAM), to conduct the planned research in these three communities.

2.2.3 Lack of Quebec Innu Participation

The refusal to allow us to conduct interviews or to have access to studies already completed by CAM on historic and present-day Innu land use and harvesting was influenced by the political attitude of the Quebec-based Innu groups towards the Province of Newfoundland, particularly related to the land claims issue. CAM influenced the Schefferville and Mingan band councils' decision not to allow us to conduct interviews in their communities. The community of Sept-Iles/Maliotenam is not a member of CAM, and came to its decision independently, in consultation with its legal counsel.

Armitage and Andrew met with all the band councils, and with the legal counsel for the Sept-Iles/Maliotenam band, describing the road project and the proposed research. They also spoke at length by phone with CAM officials. At first the objections emphasized the short warning period and lack of information they had about the road project, but it later became clear the central objection had to do with the fact that these groups have all begun land claims negotiations. Since they have an historic usage of the interior part of Western Labrador, this area is included in the land claim of the Sept-Iles, Schefferville and Mingan bands, a claim that has already been accepted as valid and open for negotiation by the federal government. They do not, therefore, wish the Newfoundland Government to have access to information on their usage of the area prior to these negotiations. Despite all offers by Armitage to protect the confidentiality of the research material, consistent with the requirements of the Newfoundland Environmental Assessment Process, no compromise could be reached that would allow this study to have access to the data needed.

2.2.4 Alternate Sources of Harvesting Data

A second attempt was made to gain access to information on actual Innu harvesting in the study area, in this case data gathered from licence returns in connection with the Saguenay Beaver Preserve. A description of this scheme, which includes all of the study area, and which was established in 1955, is included in Chapter 3 of this report. However, under Quebec's Freedom of Information Act we are not permitted to obtain data related to any specific individual, but only for a whole group. Thus we could only obtain annual harvest figures for the whole of the Sept-Iles, Schefferville and Mingan bands. Unfortunately, data in such a form would not be of any use to this study, since the study region involves only a part of the total hunting land of these three bands, and only a proportion of their total membership.

The failure to obtain access to existing material, or to collect new material through interviews with Innu users of the study region (except those of the Sheshatshiu band who had used the study region in the past, or who now use the area around Lobstick Lake and adjacent to the road between Churchill Falls and Esker) resulted in a major revision of the methodology of the study, since interviews and existing studies were to have been a major source of harvesting data. The study instead has had to rely upon estimates of the resource harvest, except for the area of the Lobstick Lake camp and the Churchill Falls to Esker road. These estimates for the present and potential future harvests were made using a method outlined in detail below, on the basis of harvesting studies of known accuracy conducted among Innu hunters in nearby regions of Quebec-Labrador, with allowance made for differences in ecological productivity of the different regions.

2.2.5 Analysis

After the completion of fieldwork, the main tasks remaining were to gather what data we could from government records and the literature of the area, and together with the data collected from the limited interviewing that was done, estimate the present and future harvests by the Innu in the study region. These results were then analysed with input from other components to calculate the impacts the road would have on Innu harvesting, establish mitigative measures, and design a monitoring regime.

2.3 THE DATA

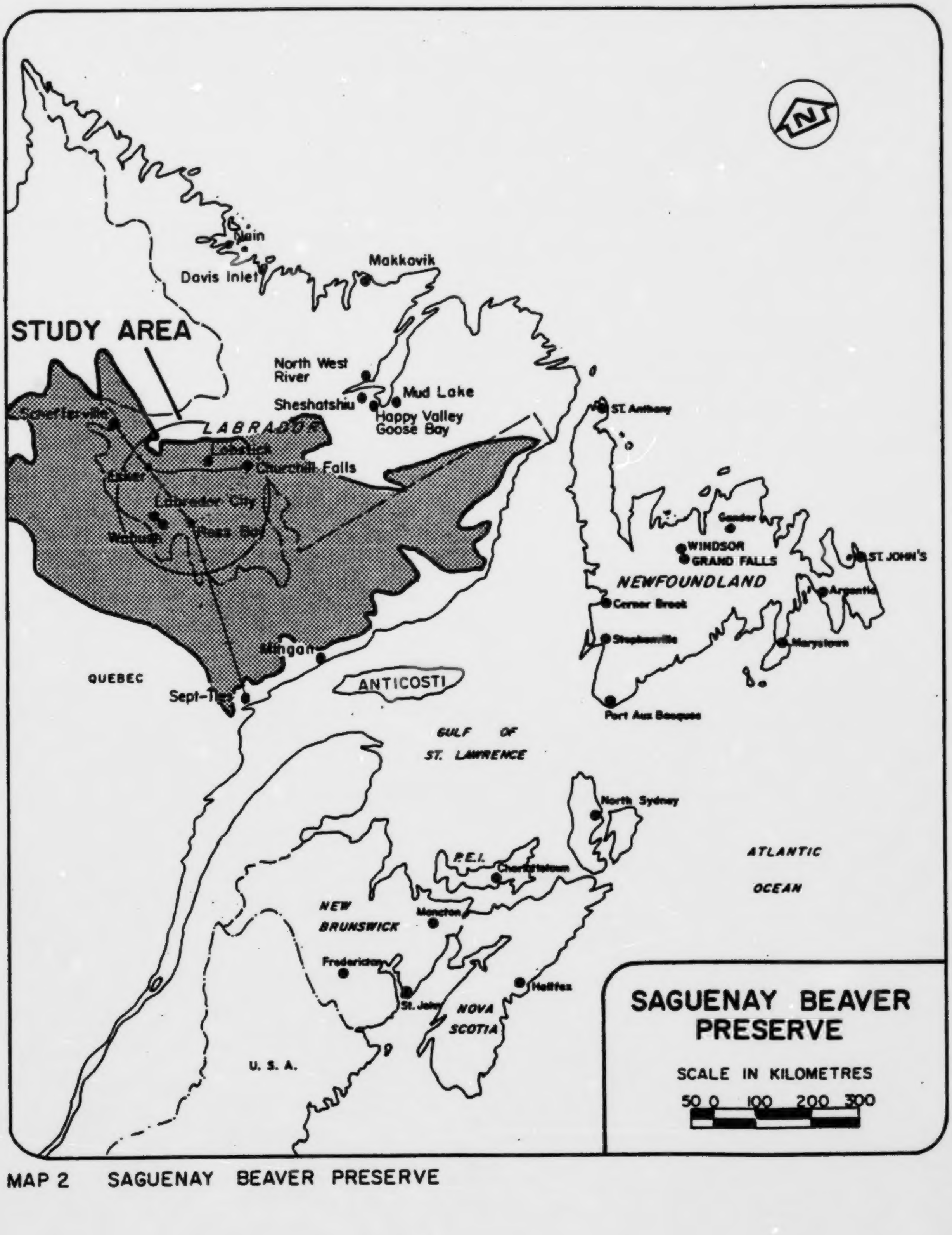
2.3.1 The Study Area

This study is mainly concerned with the immediate area of the proposed road (see Fig. 1). We define this area as the triangle formed by the Esker (Churchill Falls to Esker) Road, the part of the alternate route (also called the northern route in this study) which runs parallel to the railway line, and the route from Ross Bay Junction to Twin Falls, and continuing on to the junction with the Esker road. For the purpose of measuring Innu resource harvesting we will include the area that extends 30 km. beyond these road boundaries. Moreover, when dealing with the hunting territories in the study area, as recorded by the Saguenay Beaver Preserve (see Fig. 2 and Fig. 5), we are concerned with the total area of all the territories in the road area.

When dealing with the annual movements of the Innu population who use the road area, this study is concerned with a larger area, which is referred to as the "study region". This larger region stretches from Sept-Iles in the south to Schefferville in the north, and from Sheshatshiu in the east to Baie Comeau in the west.

2.3.2 Innu People included in the Study

The original research design called for interviews with as many Innu who use, or have used, the study area as could be contacted. It was planned to interview these people in Sheshatshiu (North West River), Lobstick Lake Camp, Sept-Iles/Maliotenam, Schefferville and Mingan. However, Lobstick Lake Camp was not visited, since during the fieldwork period those who normally occupied the settlement were either in Sheshatshiu, or in isolated bush camps.


N
Nain
Davis Inlet
Makkovik
STUDY AREA
North West River
Sheshatshiu
Mud Lake
Happy Valley Goose Bay
Schefferville
LABRADOR
Lobstick
Churchill Falls
Esker
Labrador City
Wabush
Ross Bay
Mingan
QUEBEC
Sept-Iles
ANTICOSTI
St. Anthony
Gander
WINDSOR
GRAND FALLS
ST. JOHN'S
NEWFOUNDLAND
Corner Brook
Argentia
Stephenville
Marystown
Port Aux Basques
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
North Sydney
P.E.I.
Charlottetown
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NEW BRUNSWICK
Moncton
Fredericton
St. John
Halifax
NOVA SCOTIA
U. S. A.
SAGUENAY BEAVER PRESERVE
SCALE IN KILOMETRES
50 0 100 200 300

MAP 2 SAGUENAY BEAVER PRESERVE

The Innu have a nomadic society divided into bands, each of which has its own large territory over which its members scattered and travelled together in hunting groups, each with several families (see Fig. 3). The band would gather together periodically during the year. With the coming of the European fur trade in the 1600's these gatherings increasingly took place at one of the fur trade posts. By the 20th century, most of these posts were located at the coast. As will be detailed later, the Innu made the annual trek from the interior to the trading post, for a few weeks each summer. By the 1960's, most of these posts had become villages with permanent houses and schools, and the Innu began spending more time there. Some Innu, however, continued to make the annual journey back to their interior lands. Nowadays the railway and aircraft are used to make these journeys, and there has been an actual increase in the number of people making the trip.

(a) Quebec Communities

The study area is, for the most part, within the territory of the Sept-Iles and Schefferville bands, with a small part of the southeastern extremes of the area falling within the territory of the Mingan band (Leacock 1954; see Fig. 3).

The Sept-Iles band was formed by the coalescence of an original Moisie River group with a number of bands which had formerly been associated with regions in the interior of the peninsula. In the mid-1800's the Ashuanipi and the Menehek bands became part of the Sept-Iles group (Hind 1863), and later the Petitsikapau, Michikamau, Kaniapiskau and part of the Nichicun group were added (see Fig. 4). The members of these interior groups were, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, forced to trade at the coast, either at Sept-Iles or elsewhere, including North West River, because of the closure of several interior trading posts (Speck and Eisely 1942). One result of this is that the Sept-Iles band now includes two groups, those living in Sept-Iles itself, and those in Maliotenam, some 15 km. away. The combined groups constitute a single band with one chief and band council.

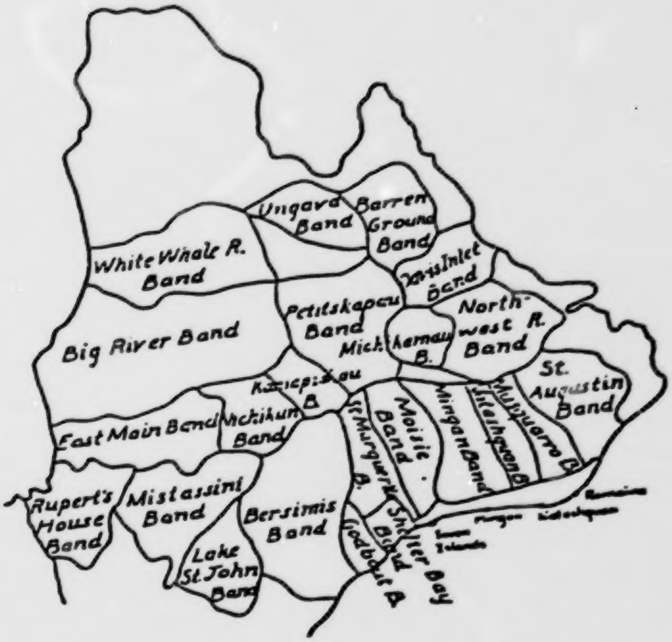

Ungava Band
Barren Ground Band
White Whale R. Band
Davis Inlet Band
Petitskapau Band
Michikamau B.
North-west R. Band
Big River Band
Kaniapiskau B.
St. Augustin Band
East Main Band
Nichikun Band
St. Marguerite B.
Moisie Band
Mingan Band
Natashquan B.
Musquarro B.
Rupert's House Band
Mistassini Band
Bersimis Band
Shelter Bay Band
Godbout B.
Lake St. John Band

FIGURE 3.- QUEBEC-LABRADOR INNU BANDS (after Speck 1931)

Despite this consolidation of the Sept-Iles group, the people associated with the interior are still recognized as a distinctive part of the band, and are known as Nutshimiu-Innu (the 'inlanders') in contrast to the Uinipeikiu-Innu (the 'coasters') (Andre 1984:41; c.f. Leacock 1954:19). After amalgamation into a single Sept-Iles 'trading post' band, the inlanders continued to travel each year between the trading post on the St. Lawrence and their hunting territory hundreds of miles inland.

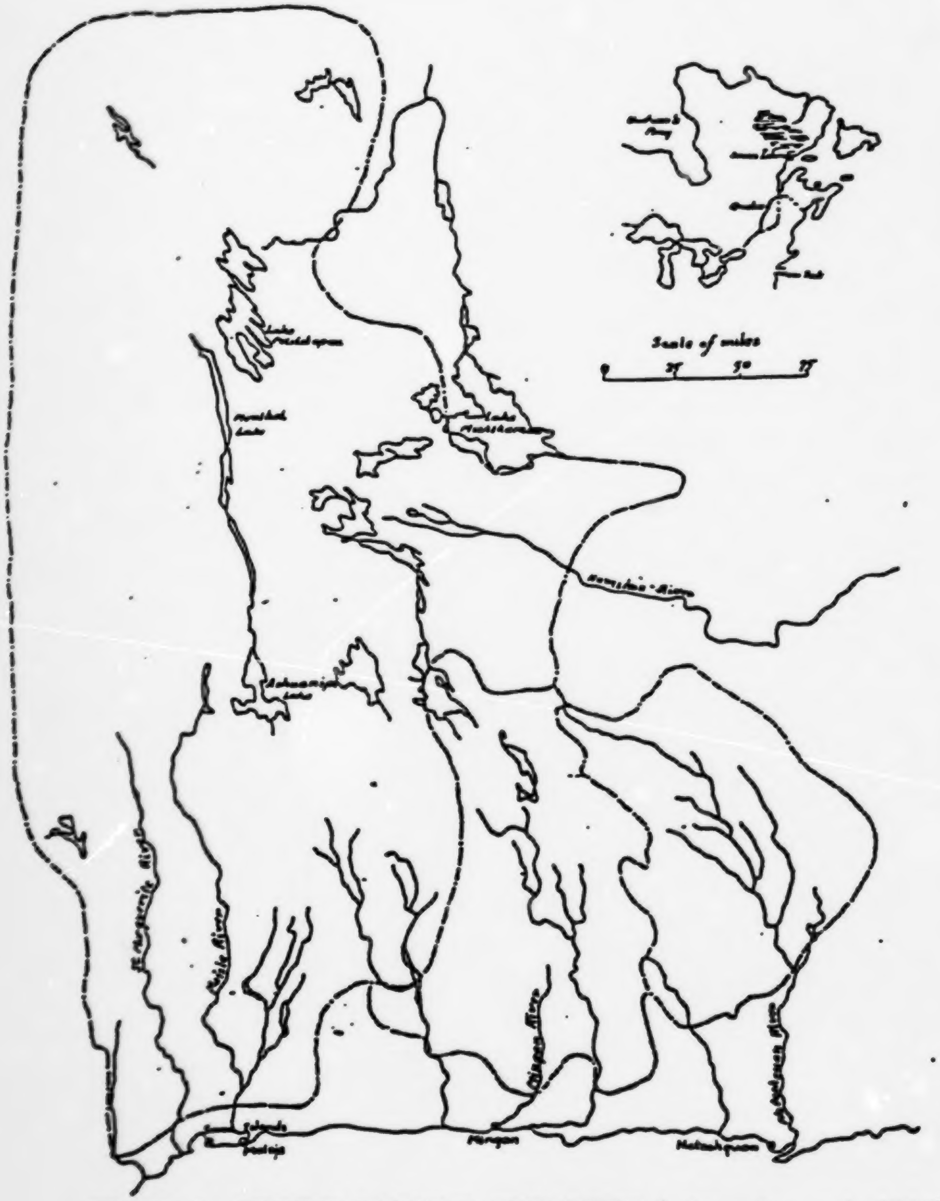


FIGURE 4. WESTERN LABRADOR INNU BANDS (after Leacock 1954)

During the 1920's the inlanders were said to "hunt and trap up the Moisie River and east of it to Mingan and Attikonak Lakes, from the coast to the headwaters of the Hamilton [Churchill] River beyond the height of land" (Speck 1931:585). It was members of this same subgroup and their descendants who shifted their place of residence to Schefferville in 1954, when the mine there was first opened, and they were later recognized by the federal Indian Affairs Branch as a separate band from Sept-Iles, with their own administration. They were eventually given a Reserve there (Gregoire 1977).

(b) Sheshatshiu

Some of the Innu who used the road area historically became part of the Sheshatshiu band. Several such people, who hunted in the road area some years ago, but have not done so more recently, were interviewed for this study. Other interviews were conducted at Sheshatshiu with those who have begun to use the road area only recently, in conjunction with the establishment of a freshwater fishery in the Smallwood Reservoir, at the Lobstick Control Structure. Although this fishery operates only in summer, and has yet to become firmly established as a viable enterprise, a community of Innu families living in the vicinity more-or-less year-round has become associated with it. The fishery has, for the past several years, been sponsored by the Sheshatshiu Innu Alcohol Program of the Sheshatshiu Innu band, and has had considerable success maintaining a therapeutic, alcohol-free community. The group includes several school-age children, and classes have been held there in winter for a few years, staffed by teachers from the Pinamen MacKenzie school in Sheshatshiu (Turnauer 1984).

The population of Lobstick has fluctuated considerably from month to month since the camp and fishery were first established, and it continues to do so up to the present. In this report we have therefore used a figure of ten families, which represents our best estimate of the average population.

2.3.3 Time Periods

For the aspect of the study dealing with the extent of the harvest in the road area by the Innu, two time periods are called for by the terms of reference (see paras. 3.1 and 3.2): the present and the future. In estimating future harvest we have taken into account the potential of the area, using an estimate of the level of harvesting that was apparently being maintained during the 1950's. This is a period for which we have indications of a more extensive use of the area than today, before restrictions which limit present-day use came into effect.

Some reference will also be made to the past. In assessing the general importance of the area to the Innu we depend on interviews covering the life experience of Innu informants extending over a period of sixty years, as well as descriptions by European explorers going back about 250 years.

In assessing the impact of the proposed road on Innu harvesting we will look at the period during construction, when the impact of construction will be felt, two years after the road is built, when the initial effects of the road will become known, and 10 years after construction, by which time any long-term effects will most likely have become evident.

2.3.4 Comparative Cases

Across the northern boreal forest region of Canada and Alaska there are a number of Native groups living in essentially similar circumstances to the Innu of western Labrador. In this study we make use of published studies dealing with the impact of roads and similar developments on such groups. We also look at the impact that previous roads in Labrador have had on the Innu.

2.4 METHODOLOGY

2.4.1 Present Harvest

As was stated earlier, we were unable to obtain interviews or other hard data on the harvesting activities of those Innu who use the road area and are based in the Quebec communities of Sept-Iles/Maliotenam, Schefferville and Mingan. For this reason the present harvest is calculated in part using estimates, as well as the interviews with Sheshatshiu informants. The future harvest is, of course, based on estimates. Where estimates are used, these are necessarily based on certain assumptions which are outlined in this section.

Whether based on actual data or estimates, the procedure used for the calculation of both present and future harvests is as follows:

* calculating the average number of Innu hunters and their families who use the area;

* calculating the average time period per annum that these people utilize the study area;

* calculating the average harvest of wildlife resources by such a population during the periods that they are using the road area.

The present harvest is calculated on the basis of two sources of data: information contained in interviews with Sheshatshiu Innu, and estimates of the harvest of other Innu users of the road area. These estimates are based on assumptions which are, in turn, based on an unpublished harvesting study of neighbouring Innu hunting groups. The unpublished study was conducted some 300 km. to the south east of the study area by a member of the present study team. These data are applicable to the road area, since the vegetation and wildlife in the region from where these data come are similar to those of the study area.

In our calculation of the present harvest we have distinguished between two sub-regions of the road area: the Ashuanipi River area, along the western edge of the study area, and the Esker Road area, between Churchill Falls and Esker. Although both sub-regions have recently experienced modern developments, the first with the railway, and the second with a road and various structures related to the Smallwood Reservoir, to the Innu both were also important as traditional hunting areas, travel routes and meeting places (see Chapter 3). Most of those who use the Ashuanipi region are members of the Sept-Iles/Maliotenam and Schefferville bands, and most who use the Esker road region are in the Sheshatshiu band. In order to explain these patterns of land use (why we have distinguished two areas of land use and calculated separate harvests for each), we will outline below something of the existing conditions in these two subregions.

(a) Ashuanipi

The present pattern of Innu harvesting activities in the Ashuanipi area follows two distinct annual cycles, one used by family groups, the other by all-male hunting parties. The family groups use the area for two different time periods: about 12 weeks from October to December; and about 18 weeks from April to August. The all-male hunting parties harvest primarily during an approximately 12-week period from the beginning of January to the end of March.

We have estimated that about 10 families (which we assume consist of five persons each, of which two are active hunters) use the Ashuanipi sub-region, in addition to three all-male hunting groups with three to five persons each. These estimates were corroborated by information supplied by Mr.Tod Kent, the Wildlife Officer based in Wabush, as well as by that obtained from Sheshatshiu informants.

Based on other studies, we assume that during the fall period each family harvests:

1 caribou
12 beaver
24 marten
12 mink
24 weasel
2 otter
1 fox
30 muskrat
1 porcupine
12 hare
36 grouse
40 trout
12 pike
12 suckers
10 whitefish
2 ducks.

We also assume that some of them would also have harvested a small number of moose, bear, lynx, owls and loons. During the 18 week late spring and the summer period, we assume that each family harvested:

1 beaver
20 muskrat
9 hare
54 grouse
90 trout
18 pike
90 suckers

18 whitefish
40 ducks
12 geese
1 owl
1 loon.

We also assume that each of the all-male hunting groups harvests on the average :

1 caribou
1 moose
5 beaver
36 marten
24 mink
24 weasel
1 lynx
3 fox
1 porcupine
36 hare
60 grouse
12 trout.

(b) Esker Road

Present Innu harvesting in the Esker Road sub-region is presented in this report in three time periods, with each period following a different harvesting pattern. The first period lasts about 12 weeks, from the beginning of October to mid-December, and is based at a camp at Mile 61 on the Esker Road (see Fig. 6). The second period lasts about 20 weeks, from January to mid-May, and is also spent at Mile 61. The third period also lasts about 20 weeks, from mid-May to the end of September, but is spent at the Lobstick Fish Camp.

An average of 10 Innu families (a figure which applies to the past several years) use the Esker Road sub-region. Their harvest was determined from data obtained in interviews with six of these families who lived in this sub-region of the road area during 1983-84.

2.4.2 Potential Harvest

The future level of harvest used in this study is essentially an estimate of the potential productivity of the region given an Innu style of land use pattern of hunting and trapping, and assuming that the proposed road is not built. For various reasons, we show that the present actual harvest level in the study area is low, compared to what it has been in the recent past, and compared to current harvesting levels in other comparable regions of Quebec-Labrador. This decline cannot be attributed to the Innu having permanently abandoned the hunting way of life. Among the Innu in general, as among North American subarctic and arctic Native populations, there has been a recent rise in hunting activities.

In Chapter 4 the local causes for this atypical decline are discussed, in particular the reduction of the Lac Joseph herd, the enforcement of Newfoundland game regulations on Innu hunters (whether based in Quebec or Labrador), and the failure of the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DINA) to extend the current program of enriched transportation subsidies, which are available for use within Quebec, to Quebec-based Innu who otherwise would use the area. The estimated potential harvest assumes these conditions could be changed, and Innu harvesting in the area could return to its former levels.

The future estimated Innu harvesting level in the study area is also based on the assumption that the legal right of the Quebec-based groups to hunt in the area will be clarified in a manner similar to the rights they enjoy within Quebec territory. The Innu were harvesting the area at a comparatively intensive level in the 1950's and 1960's. The potential harvest which is used as the basis for the estimate of the future harvest is itself based on the kind of harvesting levels that we estimate were being achieved by the Innu around 1954, the year before the Saguenay Beaver Preserve was established.

At that time there were 18 Innu hunting groups using the study region (see Table 3, Chapter 4). To estimate the harvest of these hunting groups, use is made of material from studies of other similar hunting groups in environmentally similar areas nearby in Quebec. One of these is a study conducted north of Mistassini about 320 km. to the southwest of the study area in 1954-55 (Rogers 1973). The other was conducted in the Nichicun area about 300 km. to the west of the study area in 1969-70 (Tanner 1979). The two areas where Rogers and Tanner conducted their studies had more moose and less caribou than the present study area, a fact which is taken into account in making the estimates. An average of Rogers' and Tanner's harvesting statistics, reduced to take account of the less productive ecology of the study area, is used in order to arrive at the final estimate for future harvest.

The other assumptions that have been used to estimate future harvest are:

(1) hunting groups have an average of three families each, a figure based on published studies of the general Quebec-Labrador region (Leacock 1954, Michaud and Mailhot 1966);

(2) the Saguenay Beaver Preserve map of hunting group territories (Fig. 5) reflects, in a general way, the distribution of Innu hunting groups in the study area, at least as they were in 1954;

(3) Innu engage in harvesting during the eight-month-long winter hunting season (i.e. from September to April);

(4) The Lac Joseph caribou herd will return to a population level in excess of 4000 head;

(5) each family harvests during this period an average of:
4 caribou,
32 beaver,
15 mink,
35 marten,
20 weasel,
8 otter,
60 muskrat,
20 hare,
10 porcupine,
190 grouse,
16 geese,
40 ducks,
2 owls,
2 loons,
46 pike,
36 suckers,
46 whitefish,
and 46 lake trout.

(6) each hunting group (3 families) harvests 1 moose and 1 bear during this period.

It is assumed that Canada lynx would likely be harvested in low numbers because this species is not numerous in the region. It is, moreover, assumed that fox would have been harvested in relatively low numbers given the degree of difficulty involved in trapping it.

2.4.3 Gathered Vegetal Products

In addition to animal products (fur and game meat) the Innu also harvest a number of berries for subsistence food, and wood for fuel, construction material and the manufacture of various items for their own use and for sale as handicrafts. In this report we have not given an estimate of the amount of such additional harvest, or put a dollar value on it (see notes at bottom of Table 2 and Table 4. This is mainly because, as a result of not having access to extensive interview data on harvesting, we have little firm basis on which to make any estimates.

Nor do we have comparable material on which to base estimates. Rogers mentions the harvesting of berries, but does not give any amounts (1973:69), while Weinstein mentions neither berries nor wood (1976). For the Mistassini Cree, Tanner states that each household in a hunting camp burns about 30 cu. ft. (.85 cu. meters) of firewood a day, and also mentions the gathering of boughs for tent flooring every few days, as well as moss for a variety of uses, but gives no amounts. The annual harvest of blueberries for a group of 25 adults and 17 children is given as 250 lbs. (113.4 kgms.). He also lists the items that were manufactured in the bush by a two-family hunting group in the course of a year, including several pairs of snowshoes, three toboggans, two snow shovels, one log-walled lodge and several frames for tents (1979).

2.4.4 Innu Cultural Values

The account given of Innu cultural values, as these relate to the evaluation of the use by the Innu of the study region, is based on a variety of material. Particular stress is laid on what was told to us in the interviews for this study. Both Tanner and Armitage have previously conducted research on this subject among the Innu of Labrador and adjacent areas of Quebec, and some of this material is also included. Finally, reference has been made to the published works on this topic.

2.4.5 Impact

The method used to arrive at the forecast of the impact that the road will have on Innu harvesting is based on current social assessment methods, with special emphasis being paid to problems involved in judging impact on Native people, and the special issues involved in social impact in the north (Waiten 1981, Blishen et al. 1979). The impact will be forecast for three time periods, three scenarios as to the type of road built, two projections about future conditions, and for two choices of route. Reference will be made to material on similar northern developments to see what can be learned from them.

(a) Time Periods

The three time periods used are (1) during construction; (2) the early post-construction period (two years after), and (3) the late post-construction phase (ten years after).

(b) Scenarios

The proposal (the first scenario) is for a summer-only tote road which will be part of a seasonal connection between Fermont and Goose Bay. Even in this case, the road will have an impact on, and will be affected by, transportation beyond the road development itself. Since it is likely that the road may be upgraded, a second scenario deals with the case of a year-round connection between Fermont and Goose Bay. The third scenario deals with a year-round road that is part of a highway connection between Goose Bay and the rest of North America, via Baie Comeau, Quebec.

Since comparatively little construction activity is implied by the upgrading of the road from the first to the second, or the second to the third scenarios, these additional scenarios will not be discussed when considering the impact of construction on Innu harvesting in the study area.

(c) Projections

For the third of the above scenarios, we will look at two possible projections as to what the background conditions will be which, beyond the road itself, would affect future levels of Innu harvesting. The first of these projections assumes that the present-day, abnormally low levels of Innu harvesting in the study area will continue. The second projection, on the other hand, assumes that the problems that are responsible for this low harvesting level will be solved, and the potential level of harvest, as described in the first section of Chapter 4, will be reached.

(d) Choice of Route

Two choices of the route for the proposed road are considered in this study. The route preferred by the proponent is referred to here as the southern route, while the alternate route is known here as the northern route.

(e) Assumptions

A number of assumptions need to be clarified as to what each of these routes is likely to entail. These assumptions may not prove to be correct, but they are the best forecast we can make at the moment, based on incomplete information.

In the event the southern route is built and maintained by the Department of Transportation as a summer-only road, Churchill Falls Labrador Corporation (CFL Co.) will continue to use their railway depot at Esker, and maintain the Esker road year-round.

If, however, the southern route is maintained by the Department of Transportation year-round, we assume, based in part on what the company representative stated at the first Public Information session at Churchill Falls, that CFL Co. will move their freight facilities from Esker to Ross Bay. We further assume that under these latter circumstances the Esker road west of where it is joined by the proposed road will be maintained by CFL Co. only as far as the Gabbro Control Structure, with little or no winter maintenance. This means that trappers from Churchill Falls will have to service their traplines along the road between the Twin Falls turnoff and Esker on snowmobiles. However, since some CFL Co. employees have cottages or cabins between the Gabbro Control Structure and Esker, the company may feel obliged to continue to provide winter snow clearing all the way to Esker.

If the northern route is built and maintained by the Department of Transportation as a summer-only road, we assume CFL Co. will continue to maintain the Esker road along part of this route year-round, so that effectively the only section of the new road to be summer-only will be from Ross Bay Junction to where it joins the Esker road. If, however, the Department of Transportation builds the road along the northern route and maintains it year-round, then we assume CFL Co. will only have to maintain a relatively short section of road between Esker and the junction with the proposed alternate route (east of Esker).

(f) Comparative Data

To find material on the impact of comparable developments a search was made of the literature, focussing on those northern cases that have had, or have been assessed as having, an impact on Native hunters and trappers. We tried to find empirical studies, preferably with some time depth, on what had been the actual impact of such developments, although we found it necessary to include assessment studies of planned developments that were not yet been built.

The roads and other developments in this comparative survey included the various roads already built in the Labrador interior, particularly in the vicinity of Wabush - Labrador City, and between Churchill Falls and Esker. Others were the roads built in conjunction with the James Bay Hydroelectric Project; the Alaska Highway, the MacKenzie Valley Highway and the proposed MacKenzie Valley Pipeline; the Shakwak Highway, Yukon Territory; the Dempster Highway, Yukon Territory; and the Trans-Alaska (Alyeska) Pipeline and access roads.

The environmental impact assessment studies of some of these developments have also been a source of ideas for mitigative measures and monitoring strategies.

2.5 IMPACT

The concept of "impact" in environmental impact assessment studies refers to the changes that are introduced into a natural or social environment by a proposed development. The severity of such changes can be described as "minor", "moderate" or "major", and in this study these terms are used in relation to the 'normal' or background level of changes that can be expected to occur, with or without the proposed development.

"Minor" impacts are those of about the same order of magnitude as these background changes. For example, the cyclical fluctuations in the numbers of hares and lynx in the study region represent a background change. A minor impact might similarly reduce a game population for a few years, after which it would return to normal. A "major" impact refers here to a change of the order of magnitude such that substantial alterations to the project would be required, or substantial mitigative measures would be needed, in order to counteract the effects of the impact. For example, the contamination of fish by the release of mercury, either from industrial effluent or flooding, might have a major impact on a population dependent on that fish. In extreme cases the only adequate mitigation for the ultimate "major" impact is for the project to be cancelled. The relocation of a village to an unsuitable site, and the subsequent social breakdown which would have followed from it, might be a hypothetical case in point. The "moderate" impacts are those in between these extremes - they are more serious than the kind of changes that could be expected without the development, but they can be adapted to by the population, given that some mitigative measures are taken.

Finally, the degree of impact depends not only on the development itself, but also on the social environment at the time it takes place. Thus a particular project might have a major impact on a population at one point in time, but after circumstances had altered and the population was better prepared, the same project would have only a moderate impact on the same group. For example, in the case of the Grassy Narrows Ojibwa, it has been argued that the earlier relocation and subsequent community breakdown made the community far more susceptible to the subsequent negative impact of mercury contaminated fish (Shkilnyc 1984).

Chapter 3.

Existing Conditions

3.1 HUNTING IN THE INNU CULTURE

Hunting, trapping, fishing and gathering are the most highly valued components of Innu culture, even in the contemporary context. The foundation of traditional Innu culture rested on these harvesting activities, and they continue to a large extent to be of primary importance today. Where conditions arise that prevent the Innu from continuing to take part in the harvesting of animal resources in their territory, a major aspect of their culture becomes closed to them, and the result can be the development of severe social problems. For this reason the relationship between hunting and Innu culture needs to be explained.

Because of the cultural importance to the Innu of the land and the hunting way of life, in describing their existing conditions we need to take into account the significant non-material value which the region has, in addition to its material productiveness.

Some of this Innu cultural heritage has already been lost recently due to the creation of the Smallwood Reservoir, which includes Ossokmanuan Lake, in the central part of the study region (see Fig. 5). This includes Innu campsites, burial and gathering places, and quantities of Innu hunting equipment. Thus, the sites and features which may remain in the area are of special significance.

The hunting way of life, and thus the culture of the Innu, has also been affected by other recent events. In the late 1940's, 1950's and 1960's, DIA in collaboration with the Quebec Minister of Game and Fisheries, set up a system of registered traplines and beaver conservation in much of northern Quebec. In 1955, the Saguenay Beaver preserve was established in conjunction with the government of Newfoundland and included substantial portions of western Labrador (Gregoire 1979:2-5). Hunting territories as recorded on maps were treated as the traplines of individual utshimau or hunting group leaders (see Table 3 and Fig. 6). As "tallyman" of a territory, the hunting group leader received a yearly "wage" in return for notifying the government as to the location and number of beaver lodges on 'his territory'. He was then assigned a quota based on the number of occupied lodges present on the territory and the probable birth and death rates of the beaver residing there. An official seal was given to a trapper for each beaver in his quota, and he was required as a result to hand in these seals with the beaver furs he sold to the government at the end of the year (Tanner 1979:190-192). During the 1960's, in both Quebec and Labrador, pressures and explicit government policies resulted in the settlement of the previously nomadic Innu in communities located close to existing non-Innu towns, more on the basis of administrative convenience than on their convenience as bases from which the Innu could continue to go hunting. Schools were built, but no residences were provided for the pupils, to allow parents to continue hunting as before. The settlements, particularly those in Labrador, quickly became impoverished ghettos, with the result that many individuals suffered the effects of cultural collapse, malnutrition and numerous social pathologies.

However, since the 1970's the Innu have, with the support of some government programs, taken steps to encourage a return to hunting and trapping, by supporting and modernizing the bush way of life, for example, by using aircraft, snowmobiles and bush radios. As a result of these steps there has been, since the mid-1970s, a significant increase in the number of those participating in hunting and trapping activities (MacEachern 1984). This trend has been aided by increases in the cost of store food, particularly meat, and increases in the value of some furs, both of which make the hunting life economically more attractive.

3.1.1 Historic Data on Innu Land Use

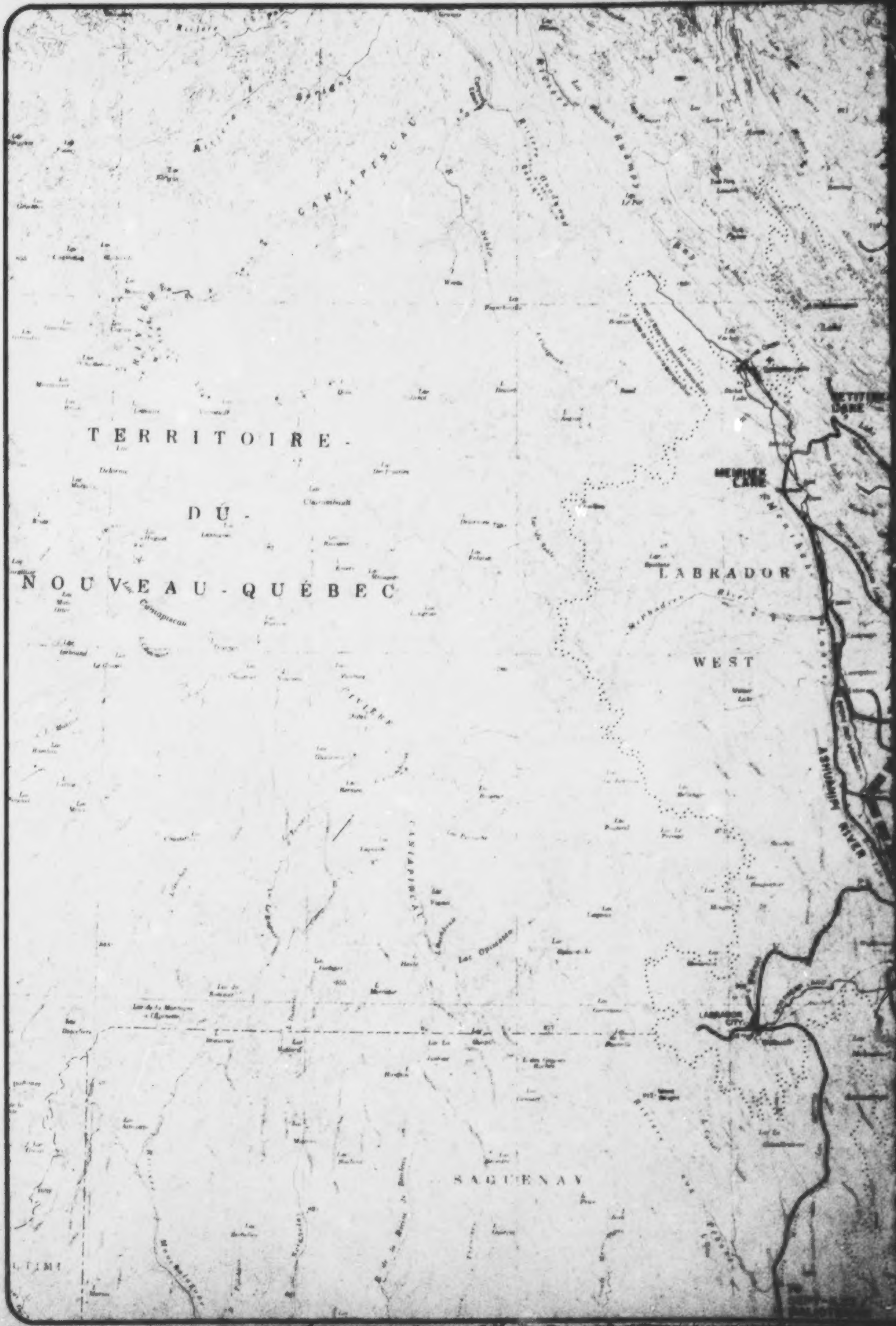
As mentioned in the previous chapter, we were unable to have access to interview material with the Innu of the Sept-Iles, Schefferville and Mingan bands who are the primary users of the study area. Thus we only have a general idea of which areas are most used, and most important to them.

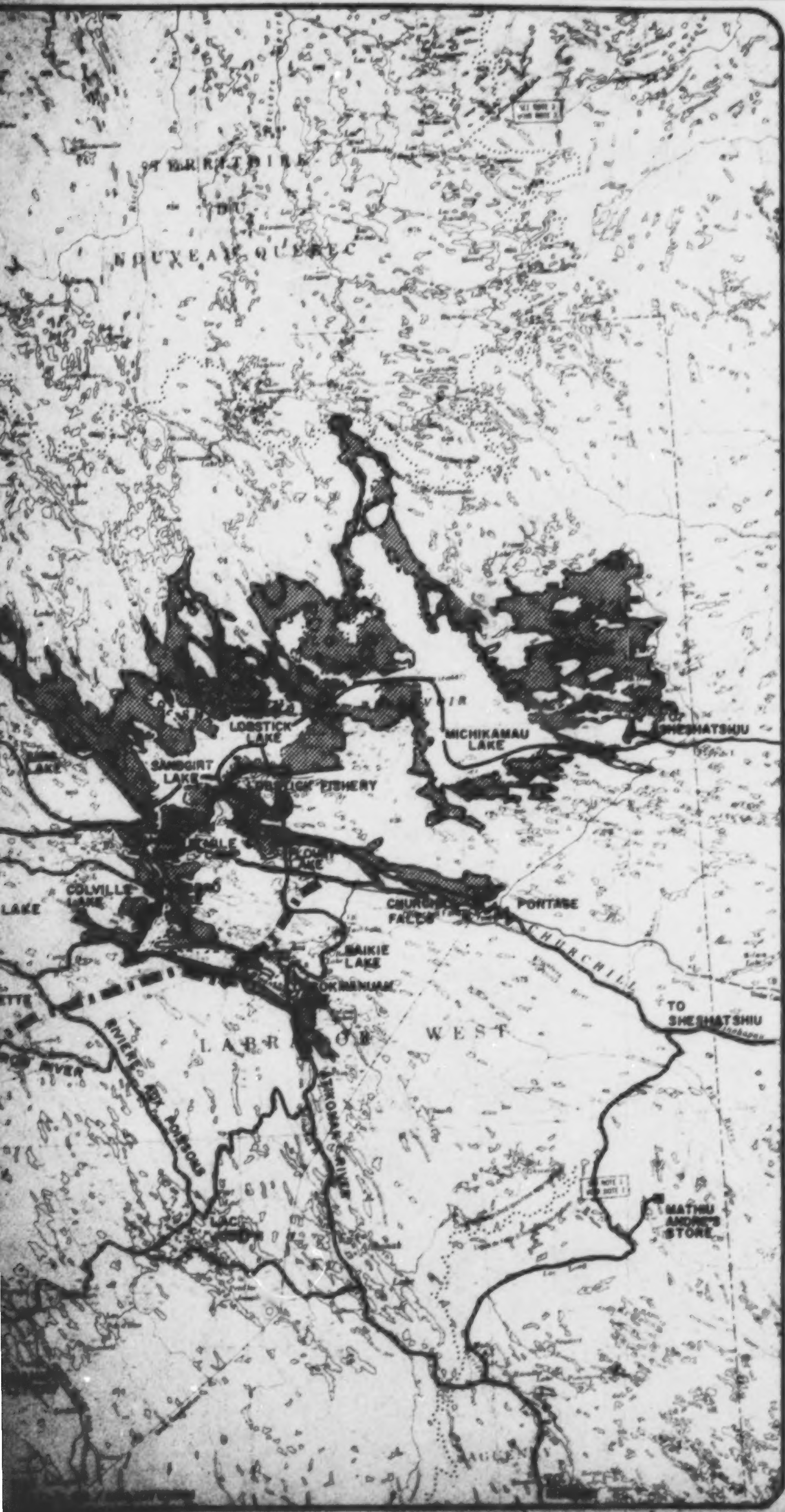
However, we have made use of another useful source for information on the importance of the region for the Innu - the literature on the early exploration and trade. This is because the Europeans who made these journeys used Innu guides and Innu travel routes. Moreover, some of the authors of these journals were at the time attempting with these journeys to contact Innu in the interior. Thus their accounts are good indications of what were the most important Innu travel routes and meeting places of the time. The sources give considerable evidence that historically, during certain seasons, the area of the proposed road was used by large numbers of Innu from all over eastern Quebec-Labrador.

A survey of this literature shows that the northern and western portions of the study region are places where several Innu travel routes met, leading off to various parts of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula. Ashuanipi Lake, in the western portion of the region, and Sandgirt Lake, in the northern part, are the locations most frequently mentioned in the literature as major Innu travel routes and meeting places, while Ossokmanuan Lake, in the centre of the study area, was also a major travel route (see Fig. 5).

(a) First European References

The earliest literary references to the study region indicate that Lake Ashuanipi was a major Innu gathering place. The area was visited about 1695 by the famous trader and explorer Louis Jolliet, who accompanied by Francois Bisonet, traded with the Indians (Cooke 1964:140). On a map


TERRITOIRE-DU-NOUVEAU-QUÉBEC
CANIAPISCAU
Caniapiscau
RIVIÈRE
LABRADOR
WEST
MENIHEK LAKE
LABRADOR CITY
ASHUANIPI RIVER
Lac Opiscoteo
SAGUENAY


TERRITOIRE
DU
NOUVEAU QUEBEC
LOBSTICK LAKE
SANDGIRT LAKE
LOBSTICK FISHERY
MICHIKAMAU LAKE
TO SHESHATSHIU
COLVILLE LAKE
LAKE
CHURCHILL FALLS
PORTAGE
CHURCHILL
BAIKIE LAKE
TO SHESHATSHIU
LABRADOR WEST
RIVER
RIVIERE AUX POMMONS
ATIKONAK RIVER
LAC
MATHU ANDRE'S STORE

ROSS BAY JUNCTION–CHURCHILL FALLS

TOTE ROAD

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

FEATURES OF THE ROAD REGION FROM THE INNU PERSPECTIVE

MAJOR INNU TRAVEL ROUTES	━━━
ORIGINAL SHORELINE	- - - - - -
FLOODED REGIONS	▨
EXISTING SHORELINE	───
ESKER ROAD	━━━
PROPOSED ROUTE	▪ ▪ ▬ ▪ ▬
ALTERNATE ROUTE	▪ ▬ ▬ ▬

FIGURE 5

SCALE 1:1,550,000

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 KM

DATE: 07/10/85

CONSULTANT: HARDY ASSOCIATES (1978) LTD.

TRANSPORTATION

showing the location of known Indian groups in 1731, the Jesuit missionary Father Laure included Lake Ashuanipi, while the area north of it (that is, in the western part of the present study area) is given as the location of one particular group, which he labelled "Les Cuneskapi". Laure apparently did not visit the area, but compiled the map from interviews with Innu he met at the coast (Speck 1931). An ordinance of 1733 by the Intendant of New France, Gilles Hocquart, describing the 'Domaine du Roi' (the area granted as a fur trade monopoly by the King of France), gives its northern boundary as including "Lac Des Naskapis", the name then used for Lake Ashuanipi (Privy Council 1927:12731 et seq.; 3125-31).

(b) H.B.C. Explorations

Actual European eye-witness descriptions of the study area are not to be found for another hundred years. The first of these were written by Earlandson and Maclean, both employed in the Hudson's Bay Company's so-called 'Ungava Venture'. Guided by local Innu, they penetrated the Quebec-Labrador interior and opened several new trading posts, which were first supplied from Fort Chimo, on Ungava Bay, and later from North West River, Labrador. In 1834 Earlandson attempted to travel from Fort Chimo to Mingan using Innu guides. He was unable to reach his destination, since he was ignorant of the Innu name for Mingan. As a result, his guides took the route east from Sandgirt Lake to North West River, instead of the route along Ossokmanuan, in the centre of the study area, which is a major connection to Mingan.

He returned to Fort Chimo by the same route, which had passed through Petitsikapau Lake, Sandgirt Lake (on the northern border of the study region), Lobstick Lake, Michikamau Lake, and the Naskapi River. Near Lobstick Lake his journal mentions, "Here we saw traces of the Sisauchie [Sheshatshiu] Indians ..." (Davies 1963:253). Elsewhere in his description he states, "From Pettaustickopau [Petitsikapau] down to Meshickemau [Michikamau] Lake, the country is [... abounding in martens and otters], with the addition of some beaver. Thence to Archiconipi [the modern Seal Lake] is a barren track but abounding in deer, yet along the Meshickemau River, and more particularly SW of it and in the direction of Seven Islands Bay [an area which would appear to include the study region], my guides informed me beaver, martens and otter abound" (ibid:257).

In 1839, starting from Fort Chimo, MacLean was joined by Earlandson at Fort Nascopie (near the present-day Schefferville) and together they tried to reach North West River by the Churchill River route. They passed Sandgirt Lake and Lobstick Lake, but were unable to get past Churchill Falls, which they were the first Europeans to see. MacLean succeeded in following a similar route in 1841, taking an overland route past Churchill Falls, having learned of the location of this portage from local Innu.

(c) Exploration from the St. Lawrence

European explorations into the region also continued from the direction of the North Shore of the St. Lawrence. In 1861 Hind led a scientific expedition to the headwaters of the Moisie River. One of their main interests was to describe the local Innu, as the title of his report indicates (Hind 1863), so that it is probable that at the time the area had a reputation as an Innu gathering place.

Between 1866 and 1870 the Oblate priest, Pere Babel, conducted a series of remarkable journeys to visit the Innu of the interior. Guided by local Innu, he traversed and surveyed all the main travel routes in the study region, and produced the first accurate map of what is now western Labrador (Tremblay 1977: map in rear pocket). At Lake Ashuanipi in 1868 he marked the site of an Innu cemetery (see Fig. 5), one which has recently been reported as having 284 burials, and which is said to have been consecrated by an earlier missionary, Pere Arnaud (Andre

1984:105). The cemetery would have relieved the Christianized Indians of the necessity of carrying the bodies of those who died in the interior out to the coast for Christian burial.

The importance of Sandgirt lake as an Innu gathering place is also indicated with a note on Babel's map: "This lake is the place where we ought to build a chapel" (our translation).

(d) Geological Survey of Canada

A.P. Low, of the Geological Survey of Canada, visited the area in 1894, and in his report stated;

> Sangirt Lake is an important gathering place for the Indians of the interior, on account of the number of routes that centre here. The Hamilton River divides into two branches here, the Ashuanipi branch from the north west, and the Attikenak from the south. The main route from Hamilton River to Lake Michikamau also ends here. The Indians who trade on the lower St. Lawrence and hunt anywhere in this vicinity, always congregate here in the spring, and descend to the coast in company, either by the Romaine or the Moisie River (1896:147-48).

The importance of Sandgirt Lake as a hub for travel routes can be seen from Low's own itinerary. Using an Innu guide, he arrived there on June 14, and made it his centre of operations, while he explored each of the routes radiating out from it. Starting on June 22 he explored Dyke Lake, Ashuanipi River and Ashuanipi Lake, before returning to Sandgirt Lake on July 16. He set out again on July 22 to explore Lake Michikamau, returning again to Sandgirt Lake on July 29. He finally left the area on August 3, taking the route via Lake Ossokmanuan to Mingan.

(e) Twentieth Century Accounts

William B. Cabot, who knew Labrador and its Innu population well, describes the routes taken into the interior by the Innu of the St. Lawrence posts. "From the Gulf near Mingan, the hunters ascend the St. John, pass a difficult portage to the Romaine, and proceed toward the Grand Falls region of the Hamilton" (1922:193). "The people who descend the Moisie in the summer gather at Sandgirt Lake on the Hamilton, apparently for the mere sake of seeing each other, and they keep together as may be until their final separation in the fall for their individual lands" (ibid:207).

The area was also described in 1936 by Speck as being used by the Michikamau sub-group of the Sept-Iles trading post band. This group travelled up the Moisie River each fall, reaching Menihek Lake about October 5. From there they moved to Lake Michikamau. Around the end of March they came together "at their customary rendez-vous on Menihek Lake" where they stayed until early in May, at which time they proceeded to Sept-Iles (1936:234-35).

Vaino Tanner, who conducted research in Labrador in the 1930's, describes the annual journeys of one Innu hunter he interviewed, Pierre Gabriel. He would leave Sept-Iles about August 10, and after a month and a half arrive at his first big stopping place, Ashuanipi Lake. From there he would travel further north to Petitsikapau Lake, and then southeast to Sandgirt Lake. He wintered in the vicinity of Michikamau Lake, and in June of the following year he travelled to Sept-Iles, via Astray and Ashuanipi Lakes (1947 [2]:612-25).

The former chief of both the Sept-Iles and the Scheffervillebands, Mathieu André, describes his group's typical winter travel, in his recently-published memoire of life in the interior (1984).

> D'aussi loin que je me souvienne et je crois, depuis des milliers d'années, nous avions tracé nos itinéraires a l'intérieur des terres. C'est cela que je trouve important. Un trace partait du littoral, longeant la Mishtashipu (Moisie River) jusqu'au lac Kaupashu dont se servaient ceux de 'Sept-Iles' et de 'Moisie'. On pouvait alors rallier les lacs Ashuanipi, Mineik, Petissikupau, Kanekunikau et Meshikamau, là s'ouvrait une autre voie menant jusqu'à 'Goose Bay'. Egalement, par le lac Petissikupau, on avait accès jusqu'à la 'Rivière Georges'. C'est cet itinéraire qu'on empruntait pour aller à la chasse au caribou durant sa migration. Un autre trace partait du lac Ushkuass vers 'Fort Chimo' et par là on rencontrait les Naskapis; il y avait aussi celui qui conduisait au lac Kaniapiskau et trois qui partaient du lac Mineik et bien d'autres encore (André 1984:103).

Mathieu André himself opened a trade store in the late 1930's for Innu hunters located just to the east of the study region (see Fig. 5), which he restocked by aircraft. His account reinforces the impression that the area of the proposed road is at the centre of a complex network of Innu travel routes.

In 1953, Sandgirt Lake was still an Innu gathering place; the radar station at this vicinity serving as an additional incentive to attract Indians there (Harper 1964:50). There is every indication that the historical routes and meeting places have remained important up to the present, since the criteria used by the Innu for campsites and travel routes have not changed, whether they use paddle or outboard, dog teams or snowmobiles.

(f) Innu Toponyms

Apart from travel routes, meeting places and burial places, the cultural value of the study region is also reflected in the great number of Innu toponyms for the various geographical features located there. A list (although only a partial one, since we were unable to interview most of the primary users of the region) is given in Appendix 3, page xx. There are Innu names for most if not all of the lakes, rivers, and mountains in the area, as well as for swamps, islands, portage routes, and other features.

These Innu toponyms add to the evidence of lengthy and continuous occupation of the area by the Innu, and demonstrate how detailed their knowledge of the land is. The Innu discuss with each other in detail their experiences hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering in the bush, and the toponyms aid in this, as the terms often encode descriptive information about the regions and their importance for harvesting or travel activities. Innu words, such as kauatshikamau 'crooked lake', tshinisheu-nipi 'pike lake', ushakamesh 'plenty of fish lake', and ka-ishkuateu-nipi 'burnt out area lake', are examples of toponyms which encode descriptive information which allow the Innu to describe in detail, usually without maps, their travel routes and harvesting activities.

3.1.2 Innu Cultural Values

The Innu of Labrador and Quebec, comprising approximately 9,000 people, are based in the communities of Davis Inlet, Sheshatshiu, St.Augustin, La Romaine, Natashquan, Mingan, Sept-Iles/Maliotenam, Schefferville (Matimekush and Kauauatshikamatsh), Bersimis, Les Escoumins, and Pointe Bleue. 'Montagnais' and 'Naskapi' were terms applied to them by Europeans, but for some Innu they are felt to be misleading and offensive. The Innu, together with the Cree, are part of a linguistic and cultural continuum which stretches from the coast of Labrador to as far west as the Rocky Mountains. Regional groups with homelands in the interior live adjacent to one another, and have cultures and dialects which are similar. Thus, although settlements like Davis Inlet and

Sept-Iles are a considerable distance apart, the bands associated with them would meet and live alongside each other in the interior, and their dialects are mutually comprehensible.

The culture of the Innu is adapted to life in the boreal forest of northern Canada, and is based primarily on the exploitation of large game such as caribou, moose, and bear, furbearing animals such as beaver, martin, mink, otter, lynx and muskrat, small game such as hare and grouse, fish, and waterfowl such as ducks and geese. These animals are still harvested, not just for their dietary or commercial fur value, but because through hunting people achieve status and a worthwhile lifestyle. In addition, materials used to make clothing, tools, medicines and other items used in everyday life can be obtained.

(a) Language

The importance of hunting and other harvesting practices is reflected in virtually every facet of Innu culture. For example, the Innu language, called Innu-aimun, has two broad categories of nouns, 'animate' and 'inanimate', which reflect the nature-based orientation of the culture which the language expresses. Moreover, compared to English, there is a more highly developed vocabulary of nouns and verbs relevant to hunting: animal names, anatomical parts, products made from animals, tools used to process them, toponyms, descriptive geographical terms, and complex terms to describe every detail of the weather (Dominique 1978, Mailhot and Lescop 1978).

(b) Traditional Religion

The continuing importance of harvesting activities in Innu culture is also to be seen in the content of Innu myths and non-Christian religious beliefs. Myths about Tshakapesh (who lives in the moon) and Kuekuatsheu (the Wolverine), for example, tell the experiences of Culture Heroes in a now-past mythical period when humans maintained social relations with the animals and their spirits, communicated with them by various means, and were often transformed into them as well (Savard 1971 and 1979, Speck 1977, Lefebvre 1971). Many of the essential elements of Innu morality are taught by these myths, including the requirement to share bush food, to treat the animals with respect, and to pursue proper wildlife conservation practices (Bacon and Vincent 1979). For example, Speck reports that Tshakapesh "is essentially a human personage, but one endowed with the shamanistic power of a cosmic champion and possessing above all in the native esteem, the attribute of altruism" (1977:48).

Innu non-Christian religious beliefs provide perhaps the strongest evidence of how highly valued harvesting activities are in the culture (see Speck 1977, Tanner 1979). The Innu have retained a large measure of their traditional beliefs in spiritual beings, such as the "animal masters", despite hundreds of years of contact with Christianity. They see no contradiction between belief in God and Jesus on the one hand, and animal masters and forest spirits on the other. God is responsible for overseeing the activities of human beings of all races, while the animal masters, for their part, oversee the activities of the animals (Armitage 1984, Speck 1977: 20-22). Thus, like their neighbours to the west, the James Bay Cree, the "animals, the winds, and many other phenomena are thought of as being 'like persons' in that they act intelligently and have wills and idiosyncracies, and understand and are understood by men" (Feit 1973:116).

The Innu believe that both their spiritual and material well-being is dependent upon the important relationships, maintained with rituals, between themselves and the spirits. Each animal species has a spirit, or animal master, of which Papakasiuku, the master of the caribou, is the most important and most powerful. It is the animal masters who are responsible for giving the hunter and his family the game upon which life depends. In return, the hunter must follow certain rules, in effect, showing respect to the animal masters in various ways (Feit

1973:116, Speck 1977, Tanner 1979). These rules of respect include placing the bones of the animals killed on outdoor scaffolds or in trees or burning them, making sure that the dogs do not eat the bones, placing animal fat in the fire, and wearing decorated clothing while hunting. The Innu believe the animal masters need the bones to regenerate new animals. Respect must also be shown by making sure that no animal species is overharvested, that no animal flesh is wasted, and that all bush food is shared with others.

Failure to follow any of the prescriptions will cause the animal masters to punish the offending person. This usually entails the animal master refusing to give any more animals to the person who has shown disrespect. In other words, the offending individual would have no success in future attempts to hunt that species. One can see, therefore, that the Innu believe it is extremely important for them to maintain good relations with the animal masters. They believe that an angry master may cause a severe shortage of a particular animal species, which in the past resulted in starvation (Speck 1977).

The relationship between the Innu and the animal masters involves not only gifts of game animals to the hunters and return offerings to the spirits of inedible animal remains. Messages are sent between the masters and the Innu. Hunters receive them through techniques such as divination, drumming, dream interpretation and the "shaking tent". The older a person is, and the more animals he has killed, the better able he is to communicate with the animal masters through each of these mediums. The Innu believe that such messages indicate the possible location of game, or the time when they can be most efficiently harvested.

(c) The Importance of Hunting Today

Belief in spiritual entities associated with the natural world is an important strand in the fabric of Innu society, and to a great extent harvesting activities, religious ideology and the social order are interdependent. For instance, the prestige given to the elderly is due in large measure to their perceived ability in the hunting context to communicate with the spirits. Belief in these spirits also promotes a sensitivity toward the environment, an awareness of the need to conserve animal populations if ecological disaster is to be avoided. Finally, Innu religious beliefs serve to reinforce a system of bush food distribution so that no one goes without. Bush food must be shared with any person in the camp, even if he is not a relative. Religious beliefs thus mark for the Innu the contrast with the harvesting activities of their non-Innu neighbours. In short, hunting and other harvesting activities are highly valued by the Innu because they are both economic activities and religious events which give meaning and expression to most aspects of life. Since the Innu place such importance on maintaining the environment, whatever can be done to enhance their culture will also be of benefit to all who value a sound environment.

Despite 25 years of education in the Western school system, the impact of a number of industrial resource developments, and the growing influence of North American mass culture, the Innu continue to be oriented to the bush way of life. While many items have been adopted from outside, they are used according to Innu principles and values. From 30 to 85 percent of the Innu of Labrador and the adjacent area of the lower North Shore of the St. Lawrence continue to spend the fall and/or spring months hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering in the interior (for the Quebec bands, see Canada 1981, and Armitage 1985:171; for Labrador, see Tanner 1977, and MacEachern 1984). Other Innu of this region, while they may not spend such lengthy periods in the country, continue to engage in harvesting activities for shorter durations of one to two weeks or on weekends. Harvesting activities of one sort or another remain a central value in Innu society, one which they wish to transmit to future generations.

3.2 LEVEL OF RESOURCE HARVESTING

3.2.1 Recent Changes

As indicated in Chapter 2, following recent restrictions on Quebec-based Innu hunting in Labrador, most of the Innu harvesting activities in the study area have been limited to those in two localities: (1) along the road between Churchill Falls and Esker; (2) along the railway between Sept-Iles and Schefferville.

The present pattern of reduced Innu land use has come about because of new conditions that have developed in relatively recent years. Up until the 1960's, entire Innu families would go into the interior for eight months a year. Later, because of the demands of schooling, some Innu men began to hunt without their wives and children. The Innu using the area of the proposed road were based mainly in the communities of Schefferville and Sept-Iles/Maliotenam, and to a lesser extent, Mingan. They travelled into the interior by way of the new railroad, and later by snowmobile and aircraft. In the post-1960 period, they tended to stay inland for shorter periods than before, and concentrated their efforts on large game and fur species. As fewer women and children participated in these harvesting activities, proportionately less of the harvest came from small game species and fish. Exploitation of the Lac Joseph herd may well have increased initially, at least as long as the herd size remained large, due to easier access to the caribou hunting region made possible by the new methods of transportation.

In the most recent period, as pointed out above (at the end of section 3.1.2), there are indications that Innu in the study region, like Innu elsewhere in the peninsula, have now returned to the family style of land use, and women and children are once again active participants in country-based harvesting activities.

Another recent change is that some Innu families from Sheshatshiu now tend to hunt and trap along the Churchill Falls to Esker road, particularly in the area near the Sims River and Mile 61, the vicinity of the road to the Michikamau Fishery at Lobstick Lake. This fishery began in 1977, and is now run as a part of the Sheshatshiu Innu Alcohol Program. About 10 families have lived at Lobstick Lake at any one time, and a large portion of Sheshatshiu families have lived there for at least some extended periods. Apart from commercial fishing activities, the settlement has brought about a significant increase in the hunting, trapping and subsistence fishing activities of the Sheshatshiu Innu in the study area. For the first time in several years nobody remained in the settlement after the end of the summer of 1984, but three families have returned during the summer of 1985. The Sheshatshiu Innu intend to resume commercial whitefish fishing there sometime in the near future when funds are made available for the fishery.

Innu from the community of Schefferville use the area north of the Menehek and Marble Lakes, and south of Esker along the railway line, as do the Innu from Sept-Iles/Maliotenam. The latter often live in tent camps while in the interior, but several have built cabins at locations such as Sawbill, Oreway and Esker. The Wildlife officer at Wabush, Mr. Tod Kent, has confirmed our impression that most of these groups now include men, women and children, and that they may be found living in these locations at any time of the year.

3.2.2 Annual Cycles

The present annual harvesting cycle of the Innu in the study region is as follows. The fall is spent fishing for lake trout and other species, hunting grouse and hare, and trapping beaver, martin, mink and fox. Some moose and caribou are killed, even though this is illegal. Many of the Quebec-based Innu turn their attention to caribou hunting in the region north of Schefferville, during the months of January to

March, where being in Quebec, caribou hunting is legal for them. Some harvesting activity also continues along the railway during the mid-winter months by groups of Innu, but it is difficult to estimate how much. For example, the Wildlife officer at Wabush encountered two young men from Sept-Iles/Maliotenam in February, 1985, living in a cabin near Esker, and harvesting animals in the vicinity. They had licences which allowed them to hunt small game, and trap all furbearers except beaver. Other Innu from Quebec now purchase non-resident trapping licences as well. In the spring, hunting continues along the railway for small game, muskrat, migratory waterfowl and fishing. Mixed small game hunting and fishing are typical of the harvesting pattern during the summer months.

3.2.3 Harvest Estimates

On the basis of available information, we estimate that there are usually about ten Innu families engaged in harvesting activities along the railway in the vicinity of the study area, in addition to the existence of a number of all-male hunting parties, and that the ten families spend on the average the months of September, October, November, April, May, June, July and August in harvesting in this region. At the Esker Road and Lobstick Fish camp region there is usually an average of another 10 families using the area. We are able, then, to arrive at the following crude estimate of the present harvest by Innu using the area of the Tote Road and alternative route, that is, Innu engaged in harvesting activities along the railway and on the Esker road (Table 1 and Table 2).

Table 1. Present Harvest for each part of the Road Area

	Numbers of animals harvested in the Esker Road area				Numbers of animals harvested in the Ashuanipi area				
Species	Mile 61 Oct.-Dec.	Mile 61 Jan.-mid-May	Lobstick mid-May-Sept.	Total Esker Road	Family Sept.-Dec.	Family April-Aug.	All-male Jan.-Mar.	Total Ashuanipi	Total both areas
Caribou	3	2	3	8	10	–	3	13	21
Moose	–	–	–	–	5	5	3	13	13
Bear	1	–	2	3	5	5	–	10	13
Beaver	60	20	5	85	120	10	15	145	230
Mink	60	–	–	60	120	–	72	192	252
Martin	120	–	–	120	240	–	108	348	468
Weasel	120	–	–	120	240	–	72	312	432
Otter	5	–	–	5	20	4	–	24	29
Lynx	2	–	–	2	2	–	3	5	7
Fox	2	–	–	2	10	–	9	19	21
Muskrat	200	–	–	200	300	200	–	500	700
Porcupine	5	20	5	30	10	–	3	13	43
Hare	120	60	10	190	120	90	108	318	508
Grouse	120	600	200	920	360	540	180	1,080	2,000
Geese	–	–	10	10	–	60	–	60	70
Ducks	–	–	200	200	20	200	–	220	420
Owls	2	–	2	4	2	10	–	12	16
Loons	–	–	10	10	5	10	–	15	25
Pike	–	–	20	20	120	180	–	300	320
Suckers	–	–	40	40	120	900	–	1,020	1,060
Whitefish	–	–	–	–	100	180	–	280	280
Trout	120	600	2,000	2,720	400	900	36	1,336	4,056

Note: The amounts shown for the Whitefish harvest do not include Whitefish harvested in the commercial fishery at Lobstick Lake (see the Socio-economic component study for information on this harvest).

Table 2. Present Innu Harvest for Entire Road Area

Species	Number	Edible food/ animal (kgs)*	Total food (kgs)	Mean Value ***	Total Value
Caribou	21	58.00	1,218		
Moose	13	188.67	2,453		
Bear	13	95.00	1,235		
Beaver	230	6.78	1,559	$30.00	$6,900
Mink	252	n/a		15.00	3,780
Martin	468	n/a		70.00	32,760
Weasel	432	n/a		2.00	864
Otter	29	4.75	138	60.00	1,740
Lynx	7	4.00	28	500.00	3,500
Fox	21	n/a		50.00	1,050
Muskrat	700	.64	448	3.00	2,100
Porcupine	43	4.76	205		
Hare	508	.84	427		
Grouse	2,000	.35	700		
Geese	70	2.10	147		
Ducks	420	.77	323		
Owls	16	n/a			
Loons	25	1.08	27		
Pike	320	1.38	442		
Suckers	1,060	.20	212		
Whitefish	280	.46	129		
Trout	4,056	2.05	8,315		
Total edible meat			16,658 kgs.		
Totalfurcash value					$ 52,694
Total cash value of subsistence food** (1985 dollar replacement cost @ $6.00 per kg.)					$ 99,948
Total estimated cash value of food and furs harvested					$152,642

Notes:

* Mean food weight per animal are taken from Weinstein 1976:95-98.

** For a discussion of the value of subsistence food, see Usher 1976.

*** Source: Average prices of furs harvested in Labrador, December 1984 - June 1985 - Frank Phillips, Provincial Wildlife Division, personal communication

- No estimates of the monetary value have been included for the following items which are also harvested by the Innu in the Tote Road region:

1. Caribou, bear and other skins and furs kept for their own use by members of the household, or for the manufacture of commercial handicrafts.
2. Firewood.
3. Wild fruit.
4. Wood used to manufacture household products, or used in commercial handicraft production.

Chapter 4.
Future Conditions

4.1 INNU LAND USE

4.1.1 Potential Levels of Harvesting

The current pattern of Innu land use for the study region, as presented in the previous chapter, is abnormally low. This fact must be taken into account when calculating the future Innu harvest in the study region.

Two temporary conditions in particular account in large part for this low level. These are (1) the present abnormally low caribou population in the area, as compared to previous years, and (2) the existence of legal restrictions on the hunting and trapping activities of the Innu in general, and particularly on those based in Quebec and now classified as 'non-residents'. These latter include those groups who were, until recently, the main occupants of this area (the Innu from the Quebec communities of Sept-Iles/Maliotenam, Schefferville and Mingan).

An additional factor is that transportation subsidies, which are available to hunters in the Quebec Innu communities from the Department of Indian Affairs Trapping Program are now no longer given to those travelling to destinations in Labrador, until such time as the question of their legal status as 'residents' of Labrador has been clarified. Without these 'abnormal' conditions it can be assumed that the Innu harvest in the tote road area would be much larger than it actually is. In calculating the future Innu harvest in the study region if the road is not built we assume, as explained in Chapter 2, that a solution is found for these problems, and that Innu harvesting in the area rises towards its potential.

Table 4. Potential Harvest for the Road Area

Species	Number	Edible food/ animal (kgs)*	Total food (kgs)	Mean Value ****	Total Value
Caribou***	216	58.00	12,528		
Moose	18	188.67	3,396		
Bear	18	95.00	1,710		
Beaver	1,728	6.78	11,716	$30.00	$51,840
Mink	810	n/a		15.00	12,150
Martin	1,890	n/a		70.00	132,300
Weasel	1,080	n/a		2.00	2,160
Otter	432	4.75	2,052	60.00	29,920
Canada Lynx	18	4.00	72	500.00	9,000
Fox	50	n/a		50.00	2,500
Muskrat	4,320	.64	2,024	3.00	9,720
Porcupine	540	4.76	2,570		
Hare	1,080	.84	907		
Grouse	10,260	.35	3,591		
Geese	1,134	2.10	1,814		
Ducks	2,160	.77	1,663		
Owls	108	n/a			
Loons	108	1.08	117		
Pike	2,484	1.38	3,428		
Suckers	1,944	.20	389		
Whitefish	2,484	.46	1,143		
Lake Trout	2,484	2.05	5,092		
Total edible meat			54,262 kgs.		
Total fur cash value					$245,590
Total cash value of subsistence food** (1985 dollar replacement cost @ $6.00 per kg.)					$325,572
Total estimated value of food and furs harvested					$571,162

Notes:

* Weights of food per animal are taken from Weinstein 1976:95-98.
** For a discussion of the value of country food, see Usher 1976.
*** We assume that the Lac Joseph herd will return to a population level in excess of 4000 head (Folinsbee 1975:6).
**** Source: Average prices of furs harvested in Labrador, Dec. 1984 - June 1985 (Frank Phillips, Provincial Wildlife Division, personal communication).
- No estimates of the monetary value have been included for the following items which are also harvested by the Innu in the Tote Road region:

1. Caribou, bear and other skins and furs kept for their own use by members of the household, or for the manufacture of commercial handicrafts.
2. Firewood.
3. Wild fruit.

4. Wood used to manufacture household products, or used in commercial handicraft production.

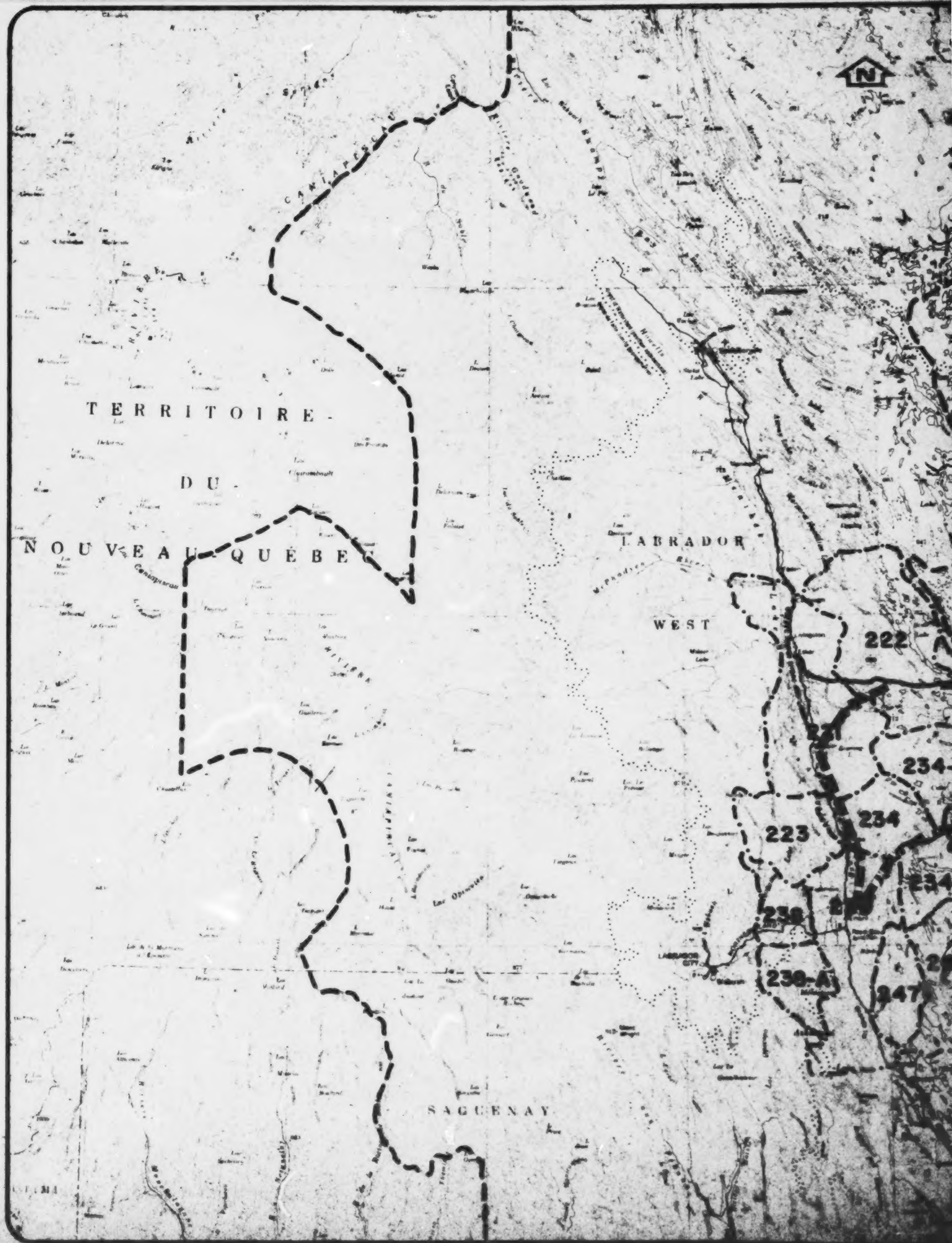
Some indication of this potential can be seen from the indications we have of the use by the Innu of the region before the problems mentioned above arose. For example, a map issued by the Indian Affairs Branch shows that the whole region was divided into several territories, as part of the Saguenay Beaver Preserve, each used by one hunting group (See Fig. 6).

The map of the territories shows that 20 of them are located, entirely or partially, in the study region (as this study region was defined in Chapter 2). Records also indicate an increase in the number of hunting groups which were associated with these 20 territories from 1951, when there were 18, to 1971 (the last year for which records were made available to us) when there were 24 (See Table 3). As indicated in Chapter 2, the future harvest for the Road Area has been estimated on the basis of a return to the former pattern of use of these territories (Table 4).

4.2 Impact of Similar Developments

In calculating the impact of the Labrador Tote Road on Innu harvesting, we have consulted published reports on some comparable cases of road construction and related developments elsewhere in the north. It is recognized, however, that the historical, social, economic, and environmental contexts of road and pipeline construction in these other regions is not exactly the same as that of the proposed Labrador Tote Road, and such differences are taken account of in drawing any conclusions.

For additional material on what has been the experience of the impact of northern roads on Native harvesting, we have also looked at existing roads in Labrador, for example, the Esker road from Churchill Falls to Esker. Although no specific impact studies on these roads have been published, we have ourselves gathered some data on the impacts of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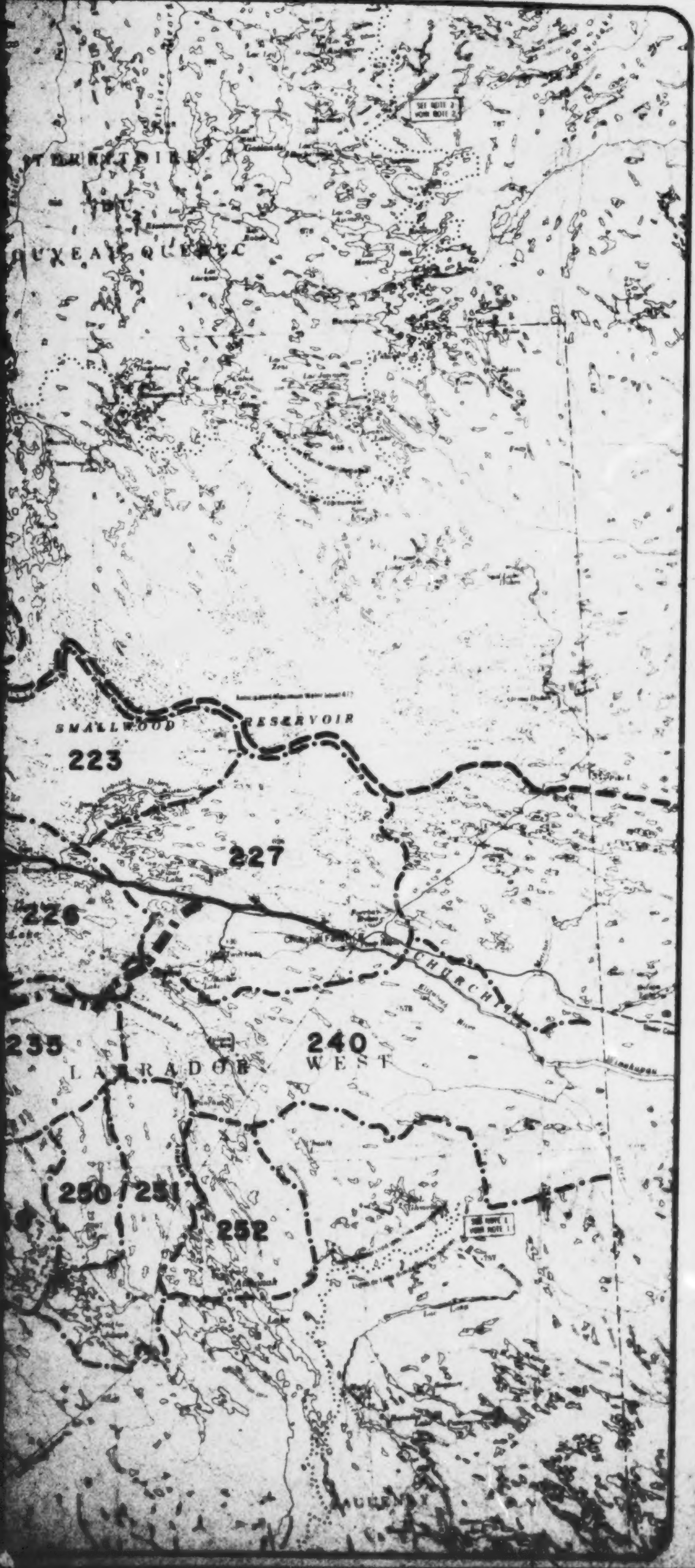
TERRITOIRE DU NOUVEAU QUEBEC
SMALLWOOD RESERVOIR
223
227
226
CHURCHILL
235
LABRADOR WEST
240
250 / 251
252

ROSS BAY JUNCTION–CHURCHILL FALLS

TOTE ROAD

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

HUNTING TERRITORIES
IN THE ROAD REGION

NO.S SEE TEXT	#
SAGUENAY BEAVER PRESERVE	– – – – –
NORTHERN ROUTE	▬ ▬ ▬ ▬
SOUTHERN ROUTE	▬ · ▬ · ▬
ESKER ROAD	———

FIGURE 6

SCALE 1:1,550,000

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 KM

DATE: 25/09/85

CONSULTANT:

TRANSPORTATION

existing Labrador roads, and we have had access to data gathered by other component studies. We have considered these data in making inferences about the likely impact of the tote road.

4.2.1 Existing Developments

At present, a few general accounts exist of northern roads, such as the Alaska highway, but they provide little detailed information on the effects of the construction or operation of the roads on Native harvesting activities (Illingworth 1955, Parsons 1963). Tanner refers to the impact of the highway in closing isolated trading posts, thus causing Indians to move into settlements along the highway. The result was the end of the fur trade economy, the adoption of a pattern of short-term hunting expeditions in crowded conditions close to the road, and an increasing dependence on welfare (1964). Strong (1977) has summarized the existing literature on the social and economic impact on local Native people of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline and its construction roads. However, the study makes little mention of the impact on harvesting activities. This is because the literature surveyed deals mainly with construction only, and the medium and long-term impacts on harvesting had not yet become known.

(a) Labrador

In this section we are concerned with the impact of existing roads and other travel corridors in Labrador, in particular the Esker road, the Sept-Iles to Schefferville railway, and the road from Wabush to Ross Bay Junction. Since the proposed tote road will be, in effect, an extension or an alternate to these routes, its construction is likely to produce some results similar to those experienced with the construction of these other travel corridors, unless mitigative features are implemented.

The Esker road, and its spur roads along the Julian River south of Twin Falls, and to the dam control structures north of Mile 61 on the Esker road, have been used by the Innu of Sheshatshiu for access to hunting and trapping areas. The railroad between Sept-Iles and Schefferville has been used in a similar way by the Innu of Sept-Iles/Maliotenam, Mingan, and Schefferville.

However, the opening of roads and a railway in Labrador has also resulted in improved access to the region by larger numbers of non-Innu as well, whereas in the years prior to these developments, the Innu had the region to themselves. Thus the Innu now compete with non-Innu for a variety of wildlife resources, including furbearing animals, fish and waterfowl.

Residents from the community of Churchill Falls hunt and fish extensively along the Esker road and along the Julian River south of Twin Falls. Over 120 cabins have been constructed in the vicinity of the Esker road. Several Churchill Falls residents maintain traplines there.

Residents of Wabush and Labrador City use the area east of Wabush as far east as Ross Bay Junction for a variety of hunting, trapping, and fishing activities as well as other recreational pursuits such as snowmobiling. They have also built numerous cabins on lakes near to Wabush and in the vicinity of the road to Ross Bay Junction.

The southwest portion of Labrador between Wabush and Ross Bay Junction is presently crowded with trappers who are residents of Wabush and Labrador City, many of whom service their traplines on the weekends. Since these trappers have only the weekends free to visit their traps they can only establish their traplines in areas where easy access is possible, that is, in the vicinity of existing roads and snowmobile trails. The establishment of permanent traplines by the residents of

Churchill Falls, Wabush and Labrador City has meant that land previously used by the Innu for trapping in these areas is no longer available, and as a result, they must seek out other areas in which to conduct these harvesting activities or leave the area entirely.

(b) The Trans-Alaska Pipeline

In a study of the social and economic impact on Native people of the Trans-Alaska pipeline from Prudhoe Bay to Valdez, Strong considers the impact of an expanding non-Native population in Alaska on Native harvesting activities (1977). He notes that because of the pipeline route chosen, "construction had a minimum known effect upon Alaska Native subsistence production, with the exception of the several Alaska Native villages close to the pipeline route. For example, the pipeline paralleled or cut across several traplines out of Stevens Village" (ibid.:49). Negative impacts of pipeline construction on Native harvesting were also likely mitigated by prohibiting hunting and fishing by construction workers along the pipeline right of way.

Strong notes that in the long term pipeline construction has resulted in a significant population increase in the Copper River Valley and Valdez area, where the populations increased from 3,098 people in April 1970 to 9,639 people in July 1975 (ibid:64). Subsistence harvesting by Native people in the Copper Valley continued to be an important economic activity after the pipeline's construction, but the increased population in the region meant that the Native people residing there began to experience an even greater competition for the limited game resources. Problems arose in the hunting of big game because of competition with non-resident white hunters. To add to the problems faced by Native hunters, Alaska State game wardens began to impose more severe restrictions on hunting by the Native people in the Copper Valley (ibid:67).

(c) The James Bay Project

Weinstein (1976) has studied the subsistence economy of the Fort George Cree, one of the groups affected by the James Bay Project, as well as the impact on Cree hunters of this hydro-electric development. Since his study was conducted in 1974, only three years after the project had commenced, and before any actual flooding, the report mainly deals with the impact of the road that was built from Mattagami to the LG2 dam site on the La Grande River, of the various spur roads, and of the initial construction camps. It must be remembered that the roads in the James Bay Project territory are not open to the public, but are only open for use by the residents of the territory, and by traffic associated with the construction of the project itself.

The report states that there was an unusual number of forest fires in 1973, and it was believed that many of them had been started by works associated with the project. Cree hunters had chosen to abandon the area around a major construction site, many others were experiencing damages to their hunting lands, and in some cases there were the loss of caches of winter equipment. One hunter is quoted as follows:

> Road construction has run through my trapline. The stream where there were most beaver has been dammed [by] the road. .... [The beaver on the left side of the road] have moved away to small lakes, therefore they have poorer feeding grounds and poorer water. ... Discarded empty drums have been left on the sides of road construction. Oil and gas [were] spilled on small streams. ... The white people working on road construction have left remains of garbage in lakes (tin cans especially). They have been fishing in the river where I trap beaver. Beaver cannot tolerate tin cans in the water. The tunnel [carrying the creek under the road] has been blocked due to freezing, and therefore caused flooding to the land where the beaver lodges are. When I was on my trapline

> I could hear the machinery from the road construction. The noise is heard day and night. Beaver and [other] animals are sensitive to foreign sounds. The beaver that I have trapped ever since the start of road construction have been less healthy in weight.

The Cree were concerned over the fact that garbage was not regularly burned. They found they were unable to eat the bears they shot, because they were in poor condition and had garbage in their stomachs. Many complained of machinery and blasting disturbing them night and day. They complained of construction camps that were located right within rich berry-picking areas. Many felt that the red marker flags used in the construction scared away the lynx and waterfowl (Weinstein 1976:211-216; see also Salisbury et al. 1972).

4.2.2 Assessments of Proposed Developments

A number of enquiries, public hearings and impact assessments have been conducted on proposed roads in the north, outside of Labrador. Some of the published results have been taken into account in this study.

Studies and enquiries conducted into proposed northern pipelines (such as the MacKenzie Valley and Alaska Highway pipeline proposals) indicate that they would have some impacts similar to those of northern roads, at least during the construction phase. The long-term impact of pipelines might be less significant than that of roads. Moreover, northern pipelines usually involve the construction of access roads, if none exist already. Those considered here are planned to be built in northern regions comparable to Labrador, where Native people also continue to pursue traditional hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering activities.

(a) Alaska Highway Pipeline

The report of the Alaska Highway Pipeline Inquiry (Lysyk et al. 1977) discusses the impacts of a proposed pipeline and road through the southern Yukon, as well as through alternative routes in the Yukon. At community hearings, many Native people commented on the potentially disruptive effect of the pipeline on their traditional harvesting activities. They expressed the fear that the presence of pipeline workers and an increased population in the region would bring about greater competition for wildlife resources (ibid:67). It was pointed out that this increased competition had already been experienced as a result of the construction of the Alaska Highway and a number of other all-weather roads. These roads have opened up much of the Yukon to a variety of developments, including tourism (ibid.:65).

The Native people of Old Crow expressed their concerns about the completion of the Dempster Highway, and the possible construction of a pipeline through the highway corridor. They were worried that a pipeline or other activity introduced by the highway would decrease the winter range available to the Porcupine Caribou herd upon which they depend. They also feared that many more caribou would be killed every year by non-Native hunters travelling to the area. Pipeline construction, in their view, would bring with it such things as more vehicular traffic, hunting and trapping in the vicinity of the highway, the construction of spur roads, and renewed oil and gas exploration, with the associated seismic lines (ibid.:127).

The Pipeline Inquiry also received a number of submissions from Native organizations arguing that pipeline construction would be prejudicial to a just settlement of their land claims. Land would be alienated from Native use as a result of pipeline construction and subsequent economic developments before land had been selected as part of the negotiation process already in progress. The negative impacts of pipeline construction would be felt more heavily by Native people than by non-Natives, but the settlement of the land claim would allow Native people to be better prepared to deal with these impacts. Building the pipeline prior to the settlement of the land claim would subject Native people to a variety of negative impacts at a time when their communities were the least able to cope with them.

In arriving at its findings on the impact of the pipeline on the Native way of life, the Inquiry considered a number of impacts which would likely accompany pipeline construction and the completion of the Dempster highway, such as

(a) increased traffic along the route.
(b) the increased harvesting of wildlife resources, in particular the Porcupine caribou herd.
(c) the increased competition between Native and non-Native users of these wildlife resources, and other developments. The Inquiry considered the impact of the pipeline along the Dempster route both during the construction phase, which would see the short term influx of a large migratory labour force, and over the long-term.

The impact of the upgraded Dempster Highway and the pipeline, according to Lysyk and the other members of the Inquiry, would be that the level of harvesting of the Porcupine caribou herd would likely increase. Maintenance areas, camp grounds, spur roads, and commercial enterprises would likely be established along the road, unless controls were put in place to limit such developments. The Inquiry concluded that the Dempster Highway could not be considered a feasible alternative to the southern pipeline route because of the lack of information on the environmental and social effects of pipeline construction there, and because of its potential destructiveness to the way of life of the Native people based in Old Crow (ibid:130). The Inquiry found that the pipeline would likely have a "significant adverse effect on the people whose existence is dependent on the land....competition for renewable resources, such as game and fish, will come from pipeline workers and from the increased population" (ibid:67).

(b) Shakwak Highway Project

In 1978, an Environmental Assessment Panel studying the impact of the Shakwak Highway Project submitted its report to the federal Minister of Environment. The highway project involved the upgrading and paving of the Haines Road from the Alaska/British Columbia border to Haines Junction, and the Alaska Highway from Haines Junction to the Yukon/Alaska border. The panel considered, among other things, the potential impacts of the highway on wildlife resources, native and non-native lifestyles, the provision of social services in affected communities, etc. However, the panel did not specifically study the impact of the road on native harvesting; no attempt was made to assess the present levels of harvesting, the impact of highway construction, and the kinds of measures which could be put in place to mitigative the negative impacts. Moreover, due to the fact that the construction of the highway was planned over an 11 year period, and a major gas pipeline project was anticipated for the same transportation corridor, the panel decided that it could not predict the community impacts and necessary mitigation measures beyond two years.

The community impact analyses presented in the Environmental Impact Statement were seen as inadequate, and therefore, the panel recommended that additional impact studies be conducted. "The Panel recommends the ongoing development of community impact reports by a team of qualified professionals for the corridor areas centred on each of Haines Junction, Destruction Bay, Burwash Landing and Beaver Creek.....The reports should cover such factors as medical and social services, schools, housing, native concerns, recreations, garbage disposal, wage and price inflation..." (1978:22). We note, here, that while the panel recommended the inclusion of "native concerns" in additional community impact reports, there is no specific mention of assessing the impact of the highway on native harvesting. In fact, in the years since the Assessment Panel released its report, no studies whatsoever have been conducted to assess the impact of the Shakwak Highway on native harvesting in the region (Walter Bilawich, personal communication).

The Yukon Native Brotherhood, the Champagne-Aishihik Band and the Kluane Tribal Brotherhood stated in their presentations to the Panel that unless their land claims were settled prior to the commencement of the project, "they would not have the means of preventing project impacts on their communities and lifestyles" (1978:26). Despite these concerns, the Panel concluded that the highway project "will not adversely affect or prejudice the resolution of Native land claims to the extent that would warrant postponement of the project". One reason why it came to this conclusion was because of the social impact mitigation measures that were planned for the highway (see recommendations, pp. 37-43). These mitigation measures, however, deal primarily with the socio-economic impacts on communities, both native and non-native, and do not deal with the impacts of the highway on native harvesting. Another reason why the Panel came to this conclusion was because the land claims negotiation process in the Yukon was already at a fairly advanced stage and "allowed for the preselection of lands and the resolution of the type of side issues which could arise from the Shakwak Highway Project. Also, access to funding for native undertaking will become available upon the signing of an agreement on the principles of a land claims settlement" (1978:27). Thus, the preselection of lands of special interest to the native people of the region was seen as an important measure to mitigate any negative impacts resulting from highway construction on their special interests in the land.

The Panel acknowledges that some elements of the Shakwak Highway Project may be on lands subject to the native claims selection process. We understand this process will permit the Minister of Indian and

Northern Affairs to withdraw and protect community lands identified as being of special native interest in advance of the final settlement of land claims (1978:27).

(c) MacKenzie Valley Pipeline

Before any MacKenzie Valley pipeline proposal was made public Prime Minister Trudeau announced in April 1972 that a highway was to be built along the length of the valley, from Fort Simpson to Innuvik, in a single year. Concern was immediately expressed by Native people about the impact of the construction of such a road (Beyer Broch 1983). Portions of the road were built, but it has yet to be completed.

In March 1974, the federal government established the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, under Justice Thomas Berger, to consider proposals by pipeline companies to meet the environmental and social concerns set out in federal Pipeline Guidelines for the construction of a pipeline from the MacKenzie Delta south through the North West Territories and Alberta to the United States. In the course of hearings held in 35 different communities throughout the western Arctic, the Inquiry heard from a number of company representatives, Native and non-Native political organizations as well as individual northern residents.

The Native representatives expressed their concerns about the impact of pipeline construction on their traditional harvesting practices and their present and future political and economic situation in the region.

The Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement argued that pipeline construction should not proceed until land claims were settled, since the construction, the increased population and the subsidiary developments which would accompany it would compromise their land claims in various ways, for example, precluding the selection by Native groups of certain lands and waters in the negotiation process (MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry 1976, V.6:64-84).

The Council for Yukon Indians argued that pipeline construction along the Dempster Highway would prejudice their land claims because it would likely interfere with the Porcupine Caribou herd upon which the Old Crow people depend, and would produce a number of conflicts with Native harvesting activities (ibid.:85-86).

The Indian Brotherhood of the N.W.T. (Dene) also argued that their land claim would be "prejudiced by the prior approval and construction of the proposed pipeline" (ibid.:103), because it would bring with it an influx of non-Dene people, along with non-Dene values and political institutions, and that these would preclude the Dene from regaining the kind of control over their lives that would ensure the survival of their distinct, hunting-based culture (ibid.:109).

The report of the Inquiry supported the contentions of these Native organizations, arguing in part that,

> If the pipeline is built before a settlement of Native claims is reached, then the land that is required for the pipeline right-of-way, the energy corridor, and their ancillary facilities will have been selected, and will thereby be excluded from any later selection of land for use by the Native people (Berger 1977:192).

4.3 INNU IDEAS ABOUT THE ROAD

While the impact of the road on Innu harvesting has been arrived at in this report largely on the basis of what we have been able to estimate from existing studies and from what has been observed to have happened following the development of other northern roads, many Innu have themselves already observed at close contact the impact of similar developments. Their observations in this matter are an important source of data. The material that follows is taken from interviews conducted as part of this component's research, although some of the same points were made at the first series of public public information sessions. The interviews were all conducted with Innu who had used the area of the proposed road, some many years ago, others more recently.

None of those Innu interviewed had anything favourable to say about the prospect of the proposed road. Several people stated that the road will result in an influx of new people to the area, and as a consequence, there will be nowhere for the Innu to hunt and trap. We have no idea how representative this is of total community opinion, which we did not try to measure. General opinions voiced by the Innu about the road are included in the Public Information report, while here we are mainly concerned with the impact on harvesting. Some Innu have expressed support for the employment opportunities offered by the road, although not in our interviews (see Socio-economic component study report). For example, a contrast is apparent between the opinions we collected from Lobstick Lake residents and those expressed by two individuals to the second Public Information session (see Public Information component report, appendix 9). This contrast may well reflect a distinction between judgements made to us about the impact on Innu harvesting, and opinions expressed to the Public Information session about opportunities the road might have for employment.

A man of 48 years said "The road will result in many side trails leading from it deep into our hunting territories." He also said, "Once the road goes through there will be little towns all along the road. There will be sports hunters from the outside who will eventually come to our hunting and trapping territory. They will not ask our permission. They will hunt on our land. They will cause forest fires and they will dump garbage. [....] If our children want to live off the land there won't be anywhere for them to go, because their land will be full of White people with cabins all over. They will try to say that this was their father's hunting territory, but the whites will tell them to get the hell out, because the land is their's now, since they have a cabin there."

The same man made a point that was echoed by others, that the road, if the southern route is used, will be particularly destructive because it will pass through the centre of what is now an unspoiled area of land.

Many people, such as one 52 year old man, objected to the white trappers from Churchill Falls who now trap along the road all the way to Esker. He also mentioned other white trappers who trap alongside the railway line. These people also catch a lot of fish in the lakes. He felt that since many of these people had full-time jobs, their use of the area was not necessary, and trapping should be reserved for unemployed people. Unless this is done, the pattern would be repeated along the new road.

This man did not think the Innu would be able to use the road to get to their hunting grounds. The Whites will take advantage of the area because they have trucks and cars, while the Innu do not. The Innu prefer to use an area well away from roads, and they use a plane to go there, so that the road would not be useful to them, but would reduce the hunting area available to them.

Several people mentioned the effect of the Esker road, both in reducing the game in the area, and leading to the building of cabins by white people. A 35 year old man mentioned that because of the activities of non-Innu trappers along the Esker road, the Innu there found that they had to go further and further away from the road to find animals. He said that they now go as far at 20 miles off the road for this reason. One 55 year old woman thought that nowadays the Innu are not welcome in the area, and the Whites would not want them building cabins there, even though, she said, the land belongs to the Innu.

Her husband, like virtually all those who were interviewed, objected to the road, saying, "This is our land, now and in the past, and they should have asked our permission to use our land. If we had said yes, they could have gone ahead. But we say no, the road will not go through. [...] The Sept-Iles Innu must think the same way. They must ask themselves where are they going to hunt or trap now. That is the place where they always hunted for ducks in the spring, that is where they always killed all kinds of different animals. [...] The government is building the road to have access to the land so they can make profits from it, while the Innu will get nothing. [...] Another reason is they want an influx of sports hunters and sports fishermen to come and give them money for permits. That is not right, because they will be fishing and hunting on Innu land. The sports hunters and fishermen should ask the permission of the Innu".

Serious concerns were expressed by Quebec Innu about the impact of the road on their future harvesting activities. It was suggested by several individuals that the probable influx of non-Innu into the region both during construction, and later because of the increased access provided by the road, would result in increased competition for existing animal resources. All of the three Quebec band councils felt that construction had, de facto, commenced prior to the impact assessment (with reference to other sections of the Wabush/Labrador City to Goose Bay route), and that no specific opportunity was being given for the Quebec-based Innu to have an input into the consultation process. A further generally-held major objection to the road was that construction was commencing prior to any settlement, or even serious negotiations, of Innu land claims in the region.

4.4 DIRECT IMPACT ON HARVESTING

As explained in Chapter 2, the impact of the road is examined in this study according to three scenarios as to the type of road that will be built, i.e. summer-only, year-round and connected to the rest of North

America, each at three points in time, i.e. during construction, two years after and 10 years after. For the third of these points in time, two projections are considered, the second of which assumes the removal of factors which now limit the level of Innu harvesting in the area. Finally, we have compared the impact of the road if it were built on either of two routes. These various alternatives are summarized in Table 5 and Table 6.

Some of the road's impacts apply equally to either route, and to either projection regarding the future level of Innu harvesting. Therefore, to avoid repetition, in this section we will only deal with the impact of the northern route, and with the impact given the second of the two projections (i.e. that Innu levels of harvesting return to their former level), to the extent that these will result in a different set of impacts from the use of the southern route, and from the assumption of the first of the two projections (i.e. that Innu harvesting in the region of the road will continue at its present restricted level).

4.4.1 During Construction

The impact of the tote road on Innu harvesting during the construction phase is likely to be minor because the numbers of workers involved will be relatively small (a maximum of 40 in any year, see project engineer description), they will work during summer only, when Innu harvesting activities are at their lowest level, their work camps will be limited to three, and it is not anticipated that they will engage to any great extent in any hunting or fishing.

This forecast of a minor impact during construction assumes that no serious environmental degradation occurs. If, however, environmental problems were to result from the road construction activity, such as chemical spills, dumping of waste or sewage into waterways, forest fires, the use of construction equipment or other vehicles outside the road corridor, or the creation of an extensive network of spur access

Table 5. Degree of Impact on Harvest - Southern Route

	Time Period		
	During Construction	2 year Post-Construction	10 year Post-Construction
Scenario			
Summer-Only	Minor	Minor	Moderate
Year-Round		Moderate	Major
Continental Link-Limited Harvest		Moderate	Major
Continental Link-Potential Harvest		Moderate	Major

Table 6. Degree of Impact on Harvest - Northern Route

	Time Period		
	During Construction	2 year Post-Construction	10 year Post-Construction
Scenario			
Summer-Only	Minor	Moderate	Moderate
Year-Round		Moderate	Major
Continental Link-Limited Harvest		Major	Major
Continental Link-Potential Harvest		Moderate	Moderate

roads for hauling fill, this would result in the loss of significant amount of wildlife habitat. This, in turn (depending on the seriousness of these problems) might have a moderate or major negative impact in the short term on Innu harvesting in the areas on either side of the road.

4.4.2 Two Years Post-construction

(a) Summer-only Road

The experience of the impact of roads elsewhere in Labrador, and the projected impact of other northern roads, like the Dempster Highway, together suggest that, without restrictions in place, numbers of non-Innu commercial and recreational users of the land will move into the area on either side of the proposed tote road. This will be, from the viewpoint of Innu harvesting, a competing land use. While the Innu themselves may also be drawn into the area, their pattern of land use will have little negative impact. The pace of this expansion of non-Innu into the area of the Tote road is difficult to predict with precision, but there is every reason to believe it would be rapid.

Residents of Wabush and Labrador City had already begun to expand their recreational land use into the area of the new road to Ross Bay Junction in the first summer after the road was completed. This pattern suggests that people would move into the area of the proposed road as soon as it is completed. In the immediate post-construction period cabins would be built, and sports hunting, fishing, and other recreational activities using snowmobiles and all-terrain vehicles would commence in the area. The extent of these activities would increase over time. However, under this scenario these impacts would be limited, due to the limited size of the population which would use the area - that of Wabush, Labrador City, Churchill Falls, and to some extent of Happy Valley/Goose Bay.

Little or no construction of service stations, motels, rest stops, picnic sites, or parks would likely occur at this point in time.

Since the road would not be open in the winter, Innu hunting and trapping would not be facilitated by the road. However, the general area, particularly close to the road, would have the wildlife populations disturbed by recreational users. In winter the unploughed route would be used by snowmobilers at either end, and non-Innu trappers might make some use of the area. Overall, there would be a moderate impact on wildlife populations, which would marginally reduce the potential of the area for the few Innu hunters who would spend the winters there.

(b) Year-Round Road

With the building of the southern route (assuming C.F.L. Co. do not continue maintainence of the Esker road) trappers from Churchill Falls would have to service their traplines in the area from the Gabbro Control Structure turnoff to Esker on snowmobile as this area will be largely inaccessible by car or truck during the fall, winter and spring months.

The impact on Innu harvesting of the construction of a year-round road in the immediate post-construction period (after two years) would be greater than that of the summer-only road. The maintenance of a year-round road would result in a more rapid increase in the use of the area by the residents of Wabush, Labrador City, Churchill Falls, and Happy Valley/Goose Bay, particularly during the winter months.

At least 66 part-time trappers based in Wabush and Labrador City are now operating in what are perceived to be crowded conditions. At least another 31 part-time trappers are residents of Churchill Falls, utilizing land along the Esker Road (Newfoundland and Labrador Trappers Association, Personal Communication, June 18, 1985).

Singificant numbers of trappers from Wabush and Labrador City as well as some trappers from Churchill Falls would likely shift to the new road, once winter maintenance commences. Winter recreational vehicle users would also begin to use the area, given the easier winter access. Since most of them have a regular income and can afford to own trucks, all-terrain vehicles and other such equipment which most Innu hunters do not have, the latter would not be able to compete in gaining access to the best trapping areas made accessible by the road. Also, the Innu are all based in communities a lot further from the area of the road than Wabush, Labrador City or Churchill Falls.

Innu cultural patterns of land use do not favour 'mechanized trapping', as used by non-Innu. One reason for this is that the Innu prefer to combine trapping with subsistence hunting. Innu hunter/trappers would thus probably benefit little from the access provided by a year-round road. Those that did use the area as a result of the road, or who camped in the bush further away from the road, would find they had relatively fewer animals to hunt than they would have had without the road. Competition from non-Innu trappers and recreational users would constitute a moderate negative impact, as far as Innu harvesting is concerned.

(c) Year-Round Continental Road Connection

The impact of a year-round road connecting Goose Bay to the rest of North America after 2 years is likely to be the same as the impact of the year-round road without such a connection. According to one estimate, after two years there would only be 20 percent of steady state traffic (A.D.I. Ltd. and DPA Group Inc. 1984:5.108). Few service stations, motels, fishing lodges, picnic sites, rest stops, parks and other facilities which would attract large numbers of tourists to the region, or have a major additional impact, will be built in the immediate post-construction phase.

4.4.3 Ten Years Post-construction

(a) Summer-only Road

After 10 years there will probably be some expansion of Innu harvesting activities along the road, even without winter maintenance. This conclusion is based on the recent experience in the utilization by the Innu of the Esker road and the Ashuanipi River areas for this purpose.

A summer-only tote road will also make it possible for large numbers of residents from Wabush, Labrador City, Churchill Falls and Happy Valley/Goose Bay, to make use of the area for recreational purposes, such as boating, sports fishing and hunting. Many of these people will build cabins along the road and will base their summer recreational activities at these sites. Non-Innu trappers will establish individual traplines along the route and will harvest fur bearers within several miles of it. Sports fishing and tourist lodges will also be established, like the one located at Mile 61 on the Esker road, and these will encourage tourists to stay and use, rather than just pass through the area.

The use of the area of the road by non-Innu residents of Labrador will inhibit the future use for harvesting by the Innu. Little decline in the present-day restricted levels of Innu harvesting would occur, however, unless the population of Happy Valley/Goose Bay or of other Labrador towns grew significantly (e.g. as a result of the expansion of the military base at Goose Bay), to the point where large-scale non-Innu use of the entire area occurred, including along the Esker road and railway, competing with the moderate level of Innu harvesting activities that now takes place there.

(b) Year-round Road

The long-term impact of a year-round road on Innu harvesting activities is likely to be similar to that for the summer-only road. However, non-Innu use of the area during the winter is likely to intensify, making it difficult for the Innu to harvest in the region. No increase in the present-day Innu levels of harvesting is likely to occur as a result of the building of the road, due to this greatly increased level of competition with non-Innu over wildlife resources and land that would result. The fact that Innu hunters lack the capital equipment required to take advantage of the new trapping situation created by the road, and also that this pattern of roadside trapping is not suited to the cultural value they attach to living in the bush, only add to the conclusion that they will not benefit from this development.

(c) Year-round Continental Road Connection

The long-term impact of a year-round road connected to the rest of North America would include at least some of the following, as indicated in part in earlier studies (e.g. R.J. Noah Associates Ltd., 1975):

- an increased access to the area by tourists and transport truckers, particularly from the eastern United States and Canada, as well as to the residents of Churchill Falls, Labrador City, Wabush, and Happy Valley/Goose Bay. The impact of these tourists and other travellers would likely be concentrated at scenic areas, rest stops, motels, and other facilities.

- construction of cabins along the route by non-Innu residents of Labrador.

- construction of sports fishing lodges.

- construction of gas/service stations along the route, in addition to motels, restaurants and associated residential units, possibly leading to the establishment of new settlements.

- establishment of national and provincial parks in the area, as well as picnic sites.

- increased number of trap lines operated by non-Innu in the vicinity of the road.

- the construction of subsidiary spur roads, giving greater access to a wider corridor on either side of the road.

These uses of the area for recreational and commercial purposes will have a specific conflict with Innu land use. Both groups will tend to concentrate their use where the road comes near or crosses a major water body. Much trapping takes place alongside lakes and rivers, and the Innu always camp near a water body. Recreational users will make heavy use of water bodies which would otherwise be suitable for Innu harvesting activities. In the past, conflicts have arisen because of fishing camps or fly-in sports fishermen that have established themselves on several of the lakes and rivers used by the Sheshatshiu Innu. The Innu, who leave their canoes and other equipment in the bush during the summer on storage racks, sometimes return to find the canoes stolen or broken, and other property taken. With the proposed development such incidents are likely to occur due to recreational use of the study area.

The eventual establishment of the proposed National Park in the Mealy Mountains, a provincial park near North West River, the eventual construction of a road connecting the Hamilton Inlet area to the south coast of Labrador, and the general increase in the population in Happy Valley/Goose Bay as a result of the expansion of the military base, will mean that the number of tourists and Labrador residents travelling through the region of the proposed tote road will increase over time. This, in turn, will stimulate the construction of rest stops, picnic sites, service stations, restaurants, motels and settlements along the route. It will also encourage more tourists and other non-Innu to visit or pass through the study area. The increased numbers of non-Innu using the road will damage the habitat or will use the resources.

The long-term impact of a year-round road connected to the rest of North America will be a major one, as far as Innu harvesting activities are concerned. The influx of large numbers of non-Innu into the region will compete for land and resources, and may well cause Innu harvesting to decline.

The impact on the Innu of a continental road connection can be compared to the impact on the local Native people of the Alaska highway, or the impacts that have been projected in studies of the Dempster Highway and MacKenzie Valley Pipeline. However, because the actual new road to be constructed is relatively short, construction of the proposed road will have far less of an impact than these other examples. Generally, any development which results in the influx of large numbers of non-Native people into a region previously used exclusively by Native people has a major negative impact on these Native people. For this reason, the long-term impact of the proposed Labrador road on Innu harvesting will also be major.

The loss to the Innu of the use of much of the area traditionally used by them to hunt, trap, fish, and gather will have major long-term negative consequences for their culture. With land in several parts of the interior of Labrador and Quebec already having been taken for road construction, military training, resource developments, and recreational and trapping use, the proposed road will, particularly if it follows the southern route, pass through one of the few large areas where the Innu can engage largely unhindered in those activities which have special cultural significance. Innu cultural beliefs and values rest on harvesting activities, so that any significant diminuation will mean as well the erosion of the culture. The proposed road development will contribute significantly to this process.

4.4.4 Alternate Projections

Since the solution to the legal and ecological problems responsible for present low levels of Innu harvesting will probably take some years to implement, we have only calculated what difference such an implementation will have in the case of the third scenario, an all-season road connected to the rest of North America. However, the difference that the recovery of previous levels of Innu harvesting would have on other scenarios can be seen on the basis of this example.

If present hunting restrictions on the Innu are lifted, especially those that have limited the extensive pattern of land use in western Labrador by the Quebec-based groups, then some Innu at least, will use aircraft to gain access to lands away from the road and railroad corridors. This pattern of using remote areas from between 50 and 150 miles away from settlements for several months during the winter is now on the increase by northern Native peoples across Canada. It is now used by all the Innu communities in both Quebec and Labrador. At the present time, the practice is dependent on programs of travel subsidies for hunting, such as is available for Quebec Innu, through the Department of Indian Affairs, and for the Labrador Innu, through the Federal-Provincial Native Peoples Funding Agreement. For those Sept-Iles/Maliotenam, Schefferville and Mingan people who, given this opportunity, move back to or increase their use of their traditional western Labrador hunting areas, the road may be used to give them access to cheaper supplies in mid-season. Since the Innu will not then, as now, be limited to camps close to the road, commercial and recreational use by the non-Innu along the road will have less of an impact on their harvests.

We believe that the impact of a year-round road connected to the rest of North America on Innu harvesting under a rejuvenated Innu land use pattern would be less than if there was a continuation of present Innu land use restricted to the road and railway corridors. While competition with non-Innu land use, and the decline of wildlife, would occur within the road corridor, the Innu could adapt by remaining away from the road, assuming there was not also competition by other users for these more remote areas. Thus the net impact on their total harvest under such an expanded Innu land use pattern would only be moderate.

4.4.5 Choice of Route

(a) During Construction

The impact of construction on Innu harvesting will be somewhat greater for the northern route than for the southern one, because there are Innu living at the Lobstick Lake settlement whose hunting activities will be partially disturbed by the noise and other direct effects of construction.

(b) Summer-only Road

With a summer-only road the impact even after two years will be greater for the northern route, since there will be increased use of existing facilities, such as the cabins and the lodge. Because of the existing users it is probable that the demands to construct additional facilities will develop more quickly than for the southern route. Moreover, despite the 'summer-only' scenario, the route will be effectively a year-round one for all but the initial section north of Ross Bay Junction, so that the existing trapping and winter recreational uses by Churchill Falls residents will expand, while on the preferred route it will take some time for such activities to become established. By the 10 year post-construction period for the summer-only road the difference in impact will have largely evened out between the two routes.

(c) Year-round Road

If the alternate route is used and maintained year-round, but without a connection to the rest of North America, the only difference from the summer-only scenario is that some Wabush/Labrador City residents might make use of the road between Ross Bay Junction and the Esker road for winter trapping or recreational use. This useage would tend to expand by the 10 year post-construction period, with the possibility of some people starting to live year-round alongside the road, particularly if the employment opportunities in the towns of the area continue to decline.

(d) Year-round Continental Road Connection

The most serious difference in the impacts of the two routes would follow from the connection of the road to the rest of North America. Assuming the Innu use of the region remains as at present, that is, largely restricted to the vicinity of the road or railway, then their activities will be seriously affected by the development of competing land uses along the road corridor. While it would take some time before facilities will have been built along the preferred route to accommodate tourists from outside the area, in the case of the northern route, since such developments have already begun, this type of impact would build up much more quickly. We believe there would already be a major impact after two years for the northern route, with significant numbers of both local recreational and commercial users, and facilities to attract long-distance tourists to camp, fish and sightsee in the region.

By the 10-year period these tourist developments will have brought with them the development of small roadside settlements, each with an impact on the wildlife and thus the harvesting potential for the Innu of the area around it. Since part of the northern route has cabins and a commercial lodge already built along it, the rapidity with which the impact of recreational use will take effect will be greater if this route is chosen. The impact of this route will add to the impacts of earlier developments - the North Shore and Labrador Railway, and the Smallwood Reservoir, including the roads and installations associated with it.

One important aspect of the choice of routes is that it would be more difficult on the northern than on the southern one to put into place mitigative measures designed to control the impact of commercial and recreational use alongside the road. This is particularly the case along those sections of the route that follow the existing Esker road, since many cabins and other developments are already in place. It would be more difficult to remove existing structures, and return things to their natural state, than it would be to prevent whatever new uses will likely have serious negative impacts from happening in the first place.

While the implementation of mitigative measures would be more of a problem for the northern route, the impact on Innu harvesting would be greater for the southern route, if no mitigative measures were to be put in place to control commercial and recreational use alongside the road. This is because the building of the road along the northern route would constitute a second set of impacts, in addition to the existing impacts of the railway, the Smallwood Reservoir and developments along the Esker road. The southern route runs right through the middle of a previously untouched area, whereas the northern route follows the Esker road, which for part of its length runs close to an area of existing damage. In other words, by choosing the northern route, the potential additional impact on wildlife, and thus on the harvesting activities of the Innu, is confined largely to areas previously impacted, and is kept away from an untouched area.

While we will discuss mitigation measures in Chapter 6, the point to be taken from this comparison of the two routes is that if the proponent and the regulatory authorities do take adequate measures to control negative impacts, then the southern route is superior, in terms of the impact on Innu harvesting. We assume, of course, that such adequate mitigative measures will be taken and on this basis conclude that the southern route will have the least negative impact on Innu harvesting. If, however, adequate mitigation to prevent the impacts on Innu harvesting will not be used, then of the two, the northern route would have the less serious negative impact.

In summary, without taking mitigation into account the southern route will have the greater negative impact on the environment, and would therefore also have a greater negative impact on Innu harvesting activities, than would the northern route. However, as will be explained in more detail in Chapter 6, the northern route also presents more difficulties for the undertaking of a thorough job of mitigation of the road's impacts, owing to the already existing damage to the environment along this route, due to the Smallwood Reservoir, the Esker road, the QLNS Railway and other associated developments.

4.4.6 Degree of Impact

Tables 5 and 6 show in very general form the relative degree of impact which the road will have on Innu harvesting in the study area. It should be remembered that the purpose of these general statements about the seriousness of the impact on harvesting is to indicate what will be the relative difficulty of undertaking the mitigative measures required to counteract the impact. They are not statements of the relative degree of economic loss due to the road.

In fact, it would be impossible to express the impact of the road in precise or even meaningful cash value terms, in part because one would have to make numerous assumptions about where and under what conditions the Innu would have been harvesting in the area if the road were not built. Moreover, this exercise would be largely beside the point, since there are at the moment comparatively few people who are harvesting in the area, and even if all the potential Innu users are considered, their total cash equivalent production from the area is small, relative to the cost of building the project. Thus rather than attempt to calculate the cash equivalent of the loss of harvest due to the impact, we will conclude that in the long run the road will reduce the Innu harvest, and probably eliminate it in the road area. The most significant aspect of this impact would be the effect this would have on Innu society and Innu culture.

4.5 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IMPACT

The proposed road will not only affect Innu harvesting, but will also have an impact on Innu culture and society, due to the central role that hunting plays in Innu life.

Some of the physical features of the area which are likely to be affected by the road are of cultural significance to the Innu. Parts of Innu cultural heritage will be thereby destroyed.

If the impact of the road will be a diminution of hunting in the region by the Innu, this in turn will hasten the process of the loss of Innu culture, since hunting is central to that culture.

It is very difficult to forecast exactly what will be the extent of the social impact of the road on the Innu of western Labrador. On the one hand, the Innu are already undergoing the impact of earlier developments in the area (Charest 1982), as well as the affects of actions designed to integrate them into the larger society. But, on the other hand, the Innu have tried to recover from these earlier impacts, through attempts to maintain the hunting way of life. Part of the problem is that the Innu social order has been undermined (as shown in statistics of social problems), so that under these circumstances the impact of the road is liable to be more serious than otherwise.

The interviews that were part of this study indicate that at the moment at least, most of the Innu using the road area do not see attempts to draw them into a closer relationship with Euro-Canadian society as beneficial. However, as mentioned earlier, two Innu did respond positively to the opportunity for employment and other increased external contacts which they saw as resulting from the road (see appendix 9 of the Public Information component report). Several of them mentioned the harm that is being done to them by ready access to alcohol. A continuation of, or for some people, a return to the hunting way of life represents the only realistic alternative to the numerous social problems, including poor diet, unsanitary living conditions, poor race relations, interpersonal violence, child neglect and other symptoms of social breakdown that are now in evidence in the villages.

Unfortunately, this situation of the social breakdown of northern Indian communities is not unique in Canada. There are many documented cases of what happens to Native hunting peoples in the face of developments like northern roads, where no adequate measures have been taken to protect them from the impact. Cultural breakdown takes place, and the social order is undermined. Old people and children in particular suffer, and deaths occur that otherwise would not have. Once this has occurred, social science does not know how to mend these broken communities.

If it were built without considering its social impact on the Innu, the proposed road would only be one among several developments responsible for adding to this social breakdown. For this reason, it is impossible to forecast how much of an impact of this kind the road will have on social breakdown, but under present conditions, and without any mitigation, this impact will be significant.

4.6 IMPACT ON INNU RIGHTS

There are a number of legal questions concerning the Innu which are at the moment in an uncertain state. Several Innu we interviewed stated that the building of the proposed road at this time will prejudice their rights. The whole question of these rights is far too complex to cover adequately here, and only some of them relate to the subject of this study, namely the impact of the road on Innu use of land and natural resources in the road area. However, it is appropriate for us to ask if any Innu rights or interests in the harvest of natural resources will be affected by the road. It is for this reason that we have included a reference to the matter in this study.

One such legal question is whether those Innu who are the traditional users of the road area, but who have houses in Sept-Iles/Maliotenam, Schefferville or Mingan are, legally speaking, residents of Quebec or of Newfoundland. Another matter is the claim of some Innu that the Newfoundland government is wrong to apply to them the provincial game laws if they are hunting for their own food. A third matter is the question of 'Indian status'. The recent federal decision to register the Conne River Micmacs as Indians, within the meaning of the federal Indian Act, suggests that the Sheshatshiu Innu also have the same legal right, if they wish to exercise it. Finally, there is the so-called "land claim" - the unresolved question of the rights to which the Innu are entitled on account of their unsurrendered aboriginal title to the interior of Labrador, including the land where the road is planned. All of these questions have implications for the impact of the road on Innu harvesting.

The Innu based in Quebec communities who have traditionally used the region of the road have sometimes been considered 'residents' for the purposes of the Newfoundland Wildlife Act, but at other times some of them have been considered 'non-residents'. Being defined as a non-resident can mean either being unable to hunt a species which a resident is entitled to hunt, or having to pay a higher licence fee than a resident for the same species. Moreover, Newfoundland does not recognize, as most other provinces do, that Native people who are hunting in unoccupied Crown land for their own food are not subject to provincial game laws (see Appendix 1). In contrast to the Newfoundland practice, Innu subsistence hunters in Quebec are not subject to provincial game laws.

Newfoundland's failure to extend a similar 'privilege' to the Quebec-based Innu while they are in this province may be connected to the fact that no such concession is made to the Innu resident in Labrador. At Confederation they were not officially recognized as 'registered' or 'status' Indians, as are Indians elsewhere in Canada, including their own relatives and neighbours based in communities across the border. However, given the Conne River example, it appears from the federal point of view that the Labrador Innu are legally entitled to be registered. The province, on the other hand, has taken the position that the Labrador Innu are not entitled to special legal considerations, and is thus presumably reluctant to extend a privilege to Innu who cross the border from Quebec that they will not also extend to those within Labrador.

As a result of these legal uncertainties, the Innu who would otherwise use the area of the road more extensively are faced with a number of special restrictions. These restrictions appear particularly onerous to those people based in Quebec, because of the contrast with the situation in that province. As long as these legal questions remain unresolved they are less likely to make use of the road to gain access for hunting purposes, even though the road crosses their traditional land. The building of the road while these uncertainties and the consequent under-utilization of the area remain will make it difficult for the Innu to regain their former use of the area, if and when these uncertainties are resolved in their favour.

The road will have a further negative impact on the Innu, in that it will diminish their ability to bargain freely for land or hunting rights in the area of the road through a future land claims settlement. It has been officially recognized by both the federal and the provincial governments that the Innu are entitled to such a settlement. Without prejudging the outcome of future negotiations towards that settlement, it is clear from the examples of other such negotiations that land and land rights will most likely be items on the bargaining table. Moreover, governments have so far been reluctant to interfere with existing rights, or include in the benefits to be retained by the Native group any land for which rights have already been given, leased or sold to a third party. Thus not only the right of way of the road itself will be unavailable to the Innu as part of the land settlement, but all land which, as a direct result of the building of the road, has been developed, leased or where the mineral or other rights are in private hands, will also be unavailable.

Chapter 5

Summary

5.1 PURPOSE

The Native Resource Use Study is a socio-economic impact study with the limited objective of determining the special significance that the region of the proposed tote road has for the hunting and trapping economy and society of native Innu people, and the impact the road will have on their way of life.

5.2 METHOD

In designing the methodology to be used in assessing the extent to which the Innu harvest in the area of the Tote Road, we focussed on a defined study region through which the road would pass. This area is part of the traditional territory of the Innu people presently based in the communities of Sept-Iles/Maliotenam and Schefferville, Quebec, and to a lesser extent Mingan, Quebec, and Sheshatshiu, Labrador. Our original intention was to gather information concerning Innu harvesting by means of interviews in each of these communities, with the bulk of the interviewing scheduled for the Quebec communities.

However, the interviews in the Quebec Innu communities did not materialize, as we were refused permission from any of the three band councils or from the regional Status Indian association, the Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais (CAM) to conduct the research in these communities or to have access to existing studies. This refusal was influenced by the political attitude of the Quebec-based Innu groups towards the Province of Newfoundland, which is seen as having an adversarial position towards their hunting rights and their land claims in Labrador.

Since interviews and existing studies were to have been the major source of data on resource harvesting in the area of the road, a major revision was made to the planned methodology of the study. The study now uses estimates based on harvesting studies conducted among nearby Innu groups, except for the area of the Lobstick Lake camp and the Esker Road, which is calculated from interview data obtained at Sheshatshiu.

5.2.1 Harvests

Two levels of Innu harvests have been calculated for the area of the tote road. The first is the actual contemporary level of harvesting, which is abnormally low, compared to what it had been in the recent past. This is because of the serious decline in the size of the Lac Joseph caribou herd and the imposition of hunting restrictions on the Innu using this area. The second is the future level of harvesting, one that would be expected if conditions returned to normal. This potential level is assumed to be of the same magnitude as the estimated level of harvesting which the Innu achieved at the time the Saguenay Beaver Preserve was in operation in the 1960's.

5.2.2 Social and Cultural Factors

In addition to estimating contemporary and potential harvests, we have also assessed the cultural significance of the region for the Innu and the importance of harvesting in their culture in general. Hunting, trapping, fishing and gathering are the most highly valued activities within the Innu culture, even in the contemporary context. If at some point in the future the Innu are no longer able to harvest the animal resources of the region, a major part of their culture will be lost. Prior to the 1950's, the northern and western portions of the study region (e.g. Sandgirt Lake and Ashuanipi Lake) were places where several Innu travel routes met, leading off to various parts of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula. The Road Area has meeting places and burial sites, and its cultural value is reflected in the great number of Innu toponyms for the various geographical features located there. These Innu toponyms demonstrate a detailed knowledge of the area and, along with the frequent historical references to the area, suggest Innu occupation has been lengthy and continuous.

The importance of harvesting practices is expressed in the beliefs and symbols of Innu culture. Innu myths and non-Christian religious beliefs demonstrate the importance of the land and the animals. The Innu retain a large measure of their traditional beliefs in spiritual beings, such as the "animal masters", despite hundreds of years of contact with Christianity. Hunting and other harvesting activities are highly valued by the Innu because they are both economic activities which provide nutritious bush foods and religious events which give meaning and expression to most aspects of life.

5.3 RESULTS

5.3.1 Resource Harvests

Contemporary harvesting by the Innu in the tote road area is limited to two regions: (1) along the Churchill Falls - Esker (Brinco) road; (2) along the Ashuanipi Lake and River, by the railway between Sept-Iles and Schefferville.

An average of ten Innu families from Sheshatshiu harvest primarily in the area of the Lobstick Fishery and adjacent to the Esker Road.

We estimated that there are about ten Innu families from the communities of Sept-Iles/Maliotenam and Schefferville harvesting in the vicinity of the railway, in addition to the existence of a number of all-male hunting parties. The total estimated contemporary harvest of the Innu is 16,658 kgs. of edible meat with a total cash equivalent value of $99,998 per year. In addition the monetary value of fur bearing animals harvested by them was estimated to be approximately $52,694 per year.

It is estimated that in the future, if the road were not built, approximately 18 hunting groups with three families each would establish themselves in the study region once game restrictions for the Innu are lifted and the Lac Joseph caribou herd returns to normal size. The total quantity of edible meat produced by these groups could total 54,262 kgs. with a cash equivalent value in 1985 dollars of approximately $325,572 per year. Their fur production could amount to $245,590 per year.

5.3.2 Economic Impact

To determine the impact of the tote road on Innu harvesting, we looked at the impact caused by existing roads in Labrador, for example, the Esker road, and we consulted published reports on some comparable cases of road construction and related developments elsewhere in the north. The impact of the road was determined for the southern and the northern routes, and three scenarios as to the type of road which will eventually be built, summer-only, year-round and year-round connected to the rest of North America. The impact of the road was also determined for three points in time, during construction, two years after and 10 years after. For the third of these points of time, two projections were considered, one assuming continuation of current levels of harvesting, the other assuming a rise to potential levels.

We concluded that the impact on Innu harvesting of the tote road using either the southern or the northern route during the construction phase will be minor. In both cases the numbers of workers will be small, they will work during the summer only, when Innu harvesting activities are at their lowest level, their work camps will be limited in number, and it is not likely that they will engage to any great extent in harvesting.

Unless restrictions are put in place, non-Innu hunters, fishermen, and other recreational users of the bush will rapidly expand into the area on either side of the proposed tote road once it is completed for summer access. The Innu would also be likely to extend their harvesting activities out into the region of the road. However, their ability to do so would likely be restricted, because of competition with non-Innu. There would thus be a negative impact on Innu harvesting in the general area of the road, which would increase once the road was made accessible for year-round transport, and even more so once travel became possible between Goose Bay and the rest of North America.

A road that was also open in winter would result in an even more rapid increased use of the area for trapping, recreational use and tourist developments, primarily by the residents of Wabush, Labrador City, Churchill Falls, and Happy Valley/Goose Bay. There would also be a growing number of tourists from outside Labrador.

Over the long-term, there would be a significant impact on Innu harvesting. Even the comparatively limited use of the area by non-Innu residents of Labrador due to a summer-only tote road would inhibit future expansion of Innu harvesting, although there would be little or no decline in present-day levels of Innu harvesting, unless the populations of Happy Valley/Goose Bay and other Labrador towns grow significantly. However, the road would prevent the Innu from increasing their harvest to reach its potential. The influx of large numbers of non-Innu, with methods of land use which compete with rather than complement those of the Innu, will preclude any possibility that normal Innu harvesting levels are achieved, even after the causes of the low present-day levels are eliminated. Conflict over resource use along the highway would occur between the Innu and non-Innu users, including sports hunters and fishermen, trappers, truckers, hikers, campers, canoeists, photographers, artists, etc. Cabins, motels, gas/service stations and associated residential units, picnic sites, rest stops, and provincial parks would be established, all of which would bring more competition for land use from non-Innu into the area.

5.3.3 Social and Cultural Impact

The loss of this area for Innu hunting, or even the restriction on Innu harvesting there, will in turn have long-term negative consequences for Innu culture. It will be more difficult than otherwise for the Innu to engage in activities which for them express their cultural beliefs and values, and the conception they have of themselves as a self-reliant group. The diminution in the Innu's access to land and its resources will contribute to the erosion of this culture and will add to the social problems arising from this breakdown.

5.3.4 Impact on Innu Rights

The building of the road at a time when many questions have been raised but not yet settled as to the rights of the Innu will itself have another potentially negative impact on Innu harvesting. Unresolved questions that have implications for Innu harvesting activities include (1) whether Innu subsistence hunters are legally subject to game laws, (2) whether the Labrador Innu are entitled to be registered under the Indian Act, and (3) what benefits in the form of land and hunting rights the Innu will acquire in a future land claims settlement. Building the road, and thus allowing non-Innu to become established in the area, before these questions are resolved reduces the benefits the Innu might acquire when these questions are eventually resolved. Moreover, such losses cannot be compensated for. Since the resolution of the questions in a manner favourable to the Innu will have had the effect of strengthening Innu hunting, the net effect of building the road before the resolution of these questions is to reduce the Innu's potential harvesting activities in the area.

5.3.5 Relative Seriousness of Impacts

While the most visible impact of the road from the Innu perspective will be the introduction to the area of new and competing land users, who will cause a significant reduction in the level of harvesting by the Innu, the more serious impacts will be less direct. Without mitigation, the development will work against attempts to rebuild the hunting way of life, and thus will add to the process of social breakdown which has already begun to affect the Innu. The most serious impact will be to prejudice Innu rights in the road area, by building the project before land claims, and other outstanding legal issues, have been settled.

Chapter 6

Mitigation

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter Four we concluded that even in the short-term there would be a negative impact on Innu land and resource use due to the proposed road. This will be primarily due to recreational, and later also commercial, activities alongside the road. The extent of the impact on land in the road corridor would increase over time, and this corridor of impact would also widen, so that over the long-term there would be a moderate or a major impact. However, the impact of the road on Innu harvesting would be somewhat less if present problems are solved and the Innu are able to return to their former hunting pattern of camping in the bush, away from transportation routes.

Mitigation measures will be needed if the proposed road is not, in the long run, to have major negative effects on present levels of Innu harvesting in the area, and if it is not to interfere with the process of a return to normal levels of harvesting by the Innu. While the impact of a summer-only road would be less than the other scenarios, a year-round road would appear to be almost a certainty, given the requirement of C.F.L. Co. for a year-round route to the railway. Moreover, a continental connection is highly likely, given that the decision has already been made to complete the road connection from Fermont to Baie Comeau. If, however, it does turn out to be a long-term summer-only road, the mitigation measures outlined below would still be appropriate.

It would be extremely costly, and ultimately impractical, to allow recreational and commercial development to proceed and at the same time try to enforce prohibitions against non-Innu hunting and any other land or water use activities in the road corridor that would negatively effect wildlife and Innu harvesting. Therefore, in the short term, the only appropriate mitigation would be the total restriction of recreational and commercial use of the road corridor. In the long-term, if any development is to proceed, it should be done under a road corridor Land Management Plan, which would limit development either to outside the region of the road altogether, or to carefully delimited areas, under conditions where the impact can be contained.

The formulation of such a land management plan would take some time, and might require legislation to put it into effect. It is hardly likely that this process would fit within present road-construction schedules, due to the need for adequate planning and research to be conducted before such a plan could be finalized. To prevent irreversible impacts from occurring during and after construction, but before the final land management plan has been formulated, restrictions will be required to prevent all recreational and commercial land use and development along the land corridor adjacent to the road. This type of land freeze is envisioned as a temporary measure, to allow time for the final Land Management Plan to'be worked out and agreed upon.

For the final implementation of those aspects of the Land Management Plan bearing on Innu harvesting, the most suitable instrument would be a land claims agreement negotiated with the Innu of Labrador and of the adjacent Quebec communities. In any case, no Land Management Plan for the road corridor could be effectively finalized before the settlement of these Native claims. Whatever mechanism is used, the lifting of restrictions on development must be made contingent on them being replaced by some form of land-use plan that would have binding authority, and which would effectively prevent future negative impacts of the road on Innu harvesting.

The idea of placing restrictions on all land uses which willinterfere with Native subsistence hunting and trapping until a complete mechanism can be arrived at has been used before in Canada. For example, Justice Berger (1977,v.1:xxiv-xxv) recommended that there be a 10 year moratorium on construction of the proposed pipeline down the MacKenzie Valley in order that the land claims of native people living in the North West Territories and the Yukon could be settled, because of the impact that construction would have on their hunting way of life, and because of the prejudice that would result to the settlement of Native land claims. Likewise the Lysyk Inquiry (1977:121) on the Alaska Highway pipeline recommended a delay in pipeline construction until 1981 so that the prejudice which construction would have had on the settlement of native land claims, and specifically on the land selection process involved in those negotiations, could be avoided.

6.2 Specific Mitigation Measures

The purpose of the following mitigation measures are to ensure the maintenance of Innu harvesting after the building of the proposed road. This purpose is considered to have an importance beyond the monetary benefits that the Innu derive from the hunting and trapping way of life, because of the negative social and cultural effects that follow from sedentarization, where no realistic opportunities exist for the development of a worthwhile and meaningful alternative way of life following the abandonment of hunting. While we recognize that there are likely to be other groups and individuals who will make competing demands to those of the Innu regarding land use policies in the road area, this report is not the appropriate place to attempt to evaluate the relative merits of these various proposals. Until the competing suggestions as to how land in the road area should be used are evaluated, we feel that the wisest course is to minimize change in the road area.

6.2.1 No Harvesting Zone

A no-hunting, fishing or trapping (no-harvesting) corridor should be established extending 10 km. on either side of the road, and these restrictions would apply to all non-Innu people. At locations where the road crosses large bodies of water, that is lakes or rivers such as Lake Ossukamanuan, and those at the headwaters of Miron River and Riviere aux Poissons, the no-harvesting corridor should be extended 20 km. on either side of the road.

A similar no-harvesting corridor was created by the Yukon Territorial Government in 1977. An ordinance was passed in that year creating a no-hunting corridor extending five miles on either side of the Dempster Highway. The ban on hunting in the corridor applied only to non-native hunters (MacLeod 1979:36).

The Newfoundland government already restricts harvesting activities in particular areas of the province, for example, in the Caribou Management areas. Management Area C in Labrador does not permit caribou hunting at any time of the year in the general area of Lac Joseph (Order in Council, August 29, 1978). Moreover, the Wildlife regulations have in the past made specific exemptions for Native people, and have included exemptions for those Quebec-based Innu who traditionally harvest in Labrador.

The no-harvesting corridor based on the model of the Management Areas could be established along the tote road, and it could permit the Innu to continue their harvesting activities according to the existing wildlife regulations, but without allowing the harvesting of any wildlife species by non-Innu.

The application of such a no-harvesting corridor would require a clear definition of who is an Innu person. For the Labrador Innu communities, the same definition should be used as is used to define who is entitled to vote in Band Council elections in the communities of Sheshatshiu and Davis Inlet. In the future, if and when it became appropriate, this could be altered to all those who are entitled to be registered under the Indian Act, or whoever is on the list of beneficiaries of a future land claims agreement. The Innu from the Quebec communities who traditionally use this area should be defined with reference to the official band lists of those communities.

6.2.2 No Buildings

A total restriction should be placed on the construction of cabins and tourist lodges by non-Innu people in the corridor extending 10 km. on either side of the road. The purpose of this restriction is not only to prevent the impact of this form of development on Innu harvesting, but also to ensure that a non-Innu presence does not become established in the area of the road prior to the implementation of measures to protect Innu harvesting rights in the area, through the settlement of land claims.

It was noted in Chapter Four that one impact of the existing Esker road between Esker and Churchill Falls has been that a large number of cabins have been built by non-Innu, from which a number of harvesting activities are undertaken in the vicinity of the road. A large number of non-Innu people residing for at least part of the year in cabins along or near to the tote road would increase the difficulties of enforcing no-harvesting restrictions in the corridor. The presence of these cabins would also prejudice the selection of lands by the Innu in any future land claims negotiation process.

6.2.3 No Off-road Vehicles

No motorized boats, snowmobiles or all-terrain vehicles should be permitted to be used by non-Innu in the 10 km. corridor. The purpose of this restriction would be not only to prevent the direct impact of these vehicles on Innu harvesting in the corridor, but also to prevent individuals using the road from having access to a launching place or travel route, and then using these vehicles to travel beyond the restricted corridor, to establish cabins or engage in harvesting activities.

6.2.4 Special Measures for the Northern Route

In the event that the northern route is chosen, the restricted land use corridor on either side of the road would apply to all new developments. Steps should also be taken to remove those structures and traplines that have already been built, particularly those furthest west from Churchill Falls along the Esker road. Existing cabin permits or leases between Esker and Mile 61 should be cancelled, or bought out. Existing trapping activities by non-Innu along the road should also be ended, particularly west of the turnoff from the Twin Falls road. Compensation should be paid to those who would be inconvenienced by these activities.

6.3 MONITORING

6.3.1 Road Management Committee

Until such time as land claims with the Innu are concluded, a Road Management Committee should be established to monitor the implementation of the mitigation measures, monitor the impact of the road on Innu harvesting, and apply any further restrictions which may be needed on any unforeseen developments which impact negatively on Innu harvesting. There should be equal numbers of Innu and government representatives on the Committee, with the chair rotating between the two groups. The Committee would have the power to stop or modify any developments which were determined to have a negative impact on Innu harvesting. It would publish an annual report.

6.3.2 Caribou Management Committee

Particular monitoring will be required in the case of caribou. A Caribou Management Committee should be formed to monitor the impact of the road on the Lac Joseph caribou herd, and if necessary, take steps, or advise government on changes needed, to control these negative impacts. This committee would also advise the government on when the herd is of a suitable size to permit a continuation of subsistence harvesting by the Innu. The Innu and the government should each have 50% of the seats on this committee, and the chairmanship should rotate between the two groups. The committee would publish an annual report.

The reason for this special committee is that caribou are liable to be especially affected by the tote road, because it will allow large numbers of people to have closer access to the area of the Lac Joseph herd than has been possible before. The road itself might even alter caribou patterns of movement.

The Lac Joseph herd has traditionally been hunted by Innu from Sept-Iles/Maliotenam and Mingan. Caribou are of particular cultural significance to the Innu. However, the Innu perceive that in the past their special expertise and traditional interest in wildlife in general, and in this species in particular, has been overlooked. Government wildlife biologists frequently refer to the fact that caribou are not well understood, and yet, from the Innu perspective, the government makes arbitrary regulations, without any reference to Innu expertise. As a consequence of the resulting bad feelings which are generated, for the Innu, caribou hunting is now taking on the additional significance of an activity which demonstrates something which is seen as their right. This kind of mistrust between government wildlife agencies and Native people is by no means unique to Labrador, but few efforts have yet been made, as they have elsewhere, to overcome these differences, and institute joint management. The Caribou

Table 7. General summary of impacts, mitigation and monitoring measures mentioned in the report.

Concern/Impacts	Comment	Mitigation Proposed	Monitoring Proposed
I. Construction Period			
possible environmental degradation	loss of wildlife habitat & decreased area for harvesting by Innu.	see other components	
II. Two Years Post-Construction			
1. Summer-Only Road (southern & northern routes)			
construction of cabins migration of non-Innu sports hunters/fishermen, trappers & recreational vehicle users into region.	marginal reduction in potential of area for the few Innu hunters who would spend winter there.	no harvesting zone extending 10 km. on either side of road (applies to non-Innu). extend this no harvest corridor 20 km. on either side of road at locations where road crosses large bodies of water no cabins, tourist lodges to be built in no-harvest corridor. no motorized boats, snowmobiles, or ATV's in the corridor.	
2. Year-Round Road			
rapid migration of non-Innu sports hunters/fishermen, trappers & recreational vehicle users into the region. this would occur more quickly for the alternative route.	increased competition between Innu & non-Innu for wildlife resources. reduction in potential of area for Innu hunters who spend winter there.		
3. Continental Connection, Year-Round Road			
same as Year-Round Road - - - - -			
III. Ten Years Post-Construction			
1. Summer-Only Road			
expanded Innu use of region by way of road. large increase in numbers of non-Innu	limited if heavy competition with non-Innu users. slight decline in present-day		road corridor Land Management Plan. Road Management Committee.

trappers, sports hunters/fishermen & recreational vehicle users in region. construction of cabins, sports fishing & hunting lodges.	restricted levels of Innu harvesting.		Caribou Management Committee.
2. Year-Round Road			
same as Summer-Only Road except intensified non-Innu use of road during winter months.	same as Summer-Only Road except increased competition between Innu & non-Innu harvesters during winter months. no increase in present-day levels of restricted harvesting.		
3. Continental Connection, Year-Round Road			
large increase in numbers of non-Innu trappers, sports hunters/fishermen & other recreational users in the region. construction of sports fishing lodges, gas/service stations, motels, restaurants & residential units, rest stops, picnic sites, national & provincial parks, subsidiary spur roads.	decline in Innu harvesting. inability of Innu to achieve normal levels of harvesting once restrictions removed & Lac Joseph caribou herd expands. erosion of culture.		
inability of Innu to achieve normal levels of harvesting. if northern route selected, elimination of Innu harvesting in road area.	hasten loss of Innu culture. contribute to social breakdown and social problems e.g. alcohol abuse, etc.		
IV. Road Construction in General			
prejudice of Innu land claims & rights, e.g. hunting rights. increase difficulty of selecting lands in a land claims negotiation & will reduce other benefits which could be obtained.	reduce ability of Innu to reestablish normal levels of harvesting.	land claims agreement.	

Management Committee would apply the principles of joint Innu-biologist management to the Lac Joseph herd.

6.4 CONCLUSION

A land claims agreement appears to be the best mechanism to achieve the objectives of both the Newfoundland government and the Innu in assuring the long-term mitigation of the impact of the tote road on Innu harvesting. While the land claims negotiation mechanism is a process which involves the federal government, it is unlikely that they would object to its use for this purpose. It would allow the provincial government and the Innu to negotiate how access to and use of the land in the area of the tote road would be determined, such that development could proceed and at the same time Innu concerns over harvesting could be met.

The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, for example, tries to protect Native harvesting in three ways. First it establishes three general categories of land, which regulate Native and non-Native use of the territory and wildlife resources (Quebec 1976:55-71). Simply stated, Category I lands are set aside for the exclusive use and benefit of the Native beneficiaries, in Category II lands the Native people have the exclusive right of hunting, fishing and trapping (with non-Cree having rights of access and development under certain conditions), while in Category III lands harvesting by Native and non-Native alike is permitted, but with the clear priority given to the subsistence needs of the Native people. Secondly, it establishes and provides funding for a Coordinating Committee, with 50% Native representation, to advise the Minister on hunting, trapping and fishing regulations. Finally, in the case of the James Bay Cree, it provides for a guaranteed annual income for full-time hunters and trappers.

A future land claims settlement between the Innu and the Canadian government could well include a land regime. Such a regime could be designed to mitigate many of the long-term negative effects that the tote road would have on Innu harvesting, including those resulting from the upgrading of the road to permit year-round travel between Goose Bay and the rest of North America. Such a regime might also remove present difficulties and allow the Innu to reestablish normal levels of harvesting.

However, as stated above, it would be impossible to negotiate a land regime of this nature if large numbers of non-Innu people had already moved into the region of the tote road, built cabins there and were engaging in harvesting activities. Thus the rationale for the mitigative measures proposed here - a restricted road corridor - is twofold. It is designed to prevent the immediate impact of the road on present Innu harvesting. It is also designed to place a freeze on new land use, and allow time so that a land claims settlement, or some other such long-term land use management plan with the Innu can be negotiated.

We should note, here, that an important reason why the Shakwak Highway Environmental Assessment (1978) panel concluded that highway construction would not seriously prejudice native land claims in the region was because the land selection process was already well underway as part of land claims negotiations (this did not apply to the native people in north western B.C.). The prior selection of lands of special interest to the native people was seen as an important way to mitigate any negative effects of the highway on this special interest (the Panel did not specify if this special interest was harvesting or not). However, in the case of the proposed tote road in Labrador, no such land selection process has commenced. This reinforces our recommendation that the best way to avoid the negative impact of the proposed Labrador tote road on Innu harvesting until such time that land is selected by the Innu or a land claims agreement negotiated, is to implement a no-harvesting corridor extending 10 km. on either side of the road which applies to all non-Innu people.

As was stated at the outset, in this report we have been concerned with what the effects of the proposed road are likely to be on the hunting and trapping way of life of the Innu, leaving other impacts which the road may have on the Innu to be dealt with by other component studies. We are therefore concerned to clarify why, in our view, a discussion of subjects like 'social breakdown' or 'land claims' have a legitimate place in a report whose central concern is with harvesting.

In looking at the impact of the road, we have considered three distinct types of impacts on Innu hunting and trapping activities:

(1) First, we have looked at the direct impacts which the road and its associated developments will have on the land and the resources of the region, impacts which would in turn, reduce the resources available to Innu hunters and trappers.

(2) Secondly, we have considered various indirect effects of the road, to the extent that they would add to and hasten an already existing process of cultural and community breakdown, a process begun in the first place because of earlier interventions and developments. This is relevant to Innu hunting and trapping since any group that is suffering from the social pathologies that are the result of this cultural and community breakdown are, quite clearly, less able to engage in the hunting and trapping way of life than they otherwise would be. Thus, to the degree that the road adds to the process of cultural and community breakdown, it also reduces the ability of the Innu to engage in hunting and trapping.

(3) Finally, it has been argued that the road will effectively reduce the benefits which the Innu would have obtained through the processes of both a land claim, and the clarification of their other legal rights. The relevance this has for Innu harvesting is that previous examples of other Canadian northern Native people indicate that the Innu can reasonably be expected to gain substantial hunting and trapping rights by these processes. However, the impact of building the road under the present schedule, that is, before negotiations and legal processes are complete, will be to reduce the amount of these potential hunting rights. Thus a further impact of building the road will be to effectively reduce Innu hunting rights from what they would otherwise have been, and this will have the effect of limiting future Innu hunting and trapping activities.

We therefore underline the point that we have been concerned with the questions of social breakdown and land claims not in and of themselves in this study, but because of their relevance to Innu harvesting activities. Our central concern throughout has been to show the various types of potential impact of the road on Innu harvesting.

Chapter 7

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1.

Letter Re. Innu Hunting Rights.

Ottawa 4, July 22, 1969

Mr. D.G.Pike
Director of Wildlife,
Department of Mines, Agriculture and Resources,
St.John's, Newfoundland.

Dear Mr. Pike:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of June 13,1969 enquiring about Indian hunting rights in Labrador and to apologize for the oversight in not answering your letter of October 5,1968 addressed to Dr.David A.Munro.

It is difficult to comment on the case and the specific Indian you have mentioned because we have insufficient facts on which to base an opinion. I must advise, however, that Indians of the Seven Island-Schefferville area are not adherents to any Treaty although they are entitled to be registered within the meaning of the Indian Act.

The question of Indian hunting rights in the Labrador-Quebec boundary area is rather complex because the action necessary to define or extinguish any residual aboriginal rights or entitlements has not been taken. The area is considered to lie within the broad parameters of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and may require judicial reference to determine or define the precise nature of any residual rights. We believe the traditional hunting grounds of the Seven Islands, Schefferville, Mingan, Natashquan and Romaine Indians overlapped the present Labrador-Quebec boundary. The boundaries of these traditional hunting grounds would have to be determined in order to define the areas in which each band might logically retain residual hunting rights.

In other areas of Canada where similar situations prevail, provincial authorities, whether game officers or police, are generally lenient in dealing with Indians in respect of game law infractions where Indians are hunting for food for their own consumption. Where they are found hunting with non-Indians in contravention of provincial regulations, there is less likely to be any tolerance observed, particularly if it is determined that the Indian concerned was aiding or abetting the non-Indian to hunt illegally.

I trust the foregoing will be useful in your consideration of Indian hunting in Labrador and, if you wish to pursue the subject further, I would be pleased to arrange for discussions with you by our Quebec Regional staff and the Indian bands concerned.

Yours sincerely,

J.W. Churchman,
Director,
Indian-Eskimo Economic
Development Branch.

APPENDIX 2.

INTERVIEW FORMS

INFORMANT INFORMATION SHEET

Informant # ______________

Informant		Spouse ....
______________________	– Name –	______________________
______________________	– 1st Name –	______________________
______________________	– Birth Date –	______________________
______________________	– Birth Place –	______________________
______________________	– father's 1st name	______________________
______________________	– father's birth place	______________________
______________________	– mother's maiden name	______________________
______________________	– mother's 1st name	______________________
______________________	– mother's birth place	______________________

How many children do you have? ____________________ (living ______________).

Age of each child:

age __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __

sex __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __

Interview conducted by: ________________________________

Date	Cassette #	Map #	Interview duration

DESCRIPTION OF CAMPSITE

Site Code # ________

Date of Interview: ______________ Cassette # ____ Side ________ Informant # ____

Toponyme ____

Toponymic coordinates: ________ Map ________

________ North ________ West

Type of Site (duration of occupation) ________________________________

Type of Dwelling ________________________ (Number) ________

Number of Families ______ : Number of People ________ : Adults ______ Children ______

Name of Families ____

____

____

Number of caches (at site & in the vicinity) ________________

Species seen (& traces)	ACTIVITIES	Species Harvested
	Hunting	
	Fishing	
	Trapping	
	Gathering (etc.)	

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

Appendix 3.

Selected Innu Toponyms in Western and Central Labrador.

European Name	Innu Name
Flour Lake	Nuskuau-shakeikan
none	Kauapeskakamau
Mckay River	Patshau-shipu
Mckay Lake	Patshau
none	Kakessetshuak
Colville Lake	Patshau
none	Ushukeminauan-shipu
none	Uapiskushit
none	Katshakashuiast
Ossokmanuan Lake	Ushukeminauan-shipu
Riviere aux Poissons	Muaskakemau-shipu
none	Uapeskuakamau
Wightman Lake	Kauatsheskues
none	Shapukumau
Miron River	Kapakuanamaskat
Molson Lake	Uskueu
none	Kaispantauakat
none	Patistinikeish
none	Kesseueikin
Rannie Lake	Uashekamau
Wabush Lake	Shakapukumau
none	Kashakapustet
none	Papateu-nipi
none	Kauatshikamat
Whitefish Lake	Attikamek-nipi
none	Kauipuskat
Mount Hyde Lake	Ashiasku-nipi
Grand Falls	Patsheshunau
Unknown River	Patshetshunasiu-shipu
Jacopie Lake	Tshenesheu-nipi
Portage River	Kauauakashuiat
none	Kaitetauatshekemat
Elizabeth River	Atikunuku-shipu
McPhadyen River	Uepuskueskau-shakeikan
Menihek Lakes	Mineuk
Clark Lake	Mitshustun-shipu
Sims Lake	Kashituepiskuetin
Sandgirt Lake	Kanekuanekau
Ashuanipi River	Ashuanipu-shipu
Lobstick Lake	Kaishikishinauakamat
Opocopa Lake	Upukupau
Menistouc Lake	Menestuk Petshistanekau
Lac Joseph	Kauipitinekau
Lac Pas D'eau	Kakukuepitinekau